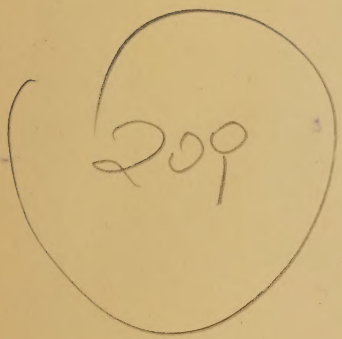
THE AMERICAN INDIAN

NORTH, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA

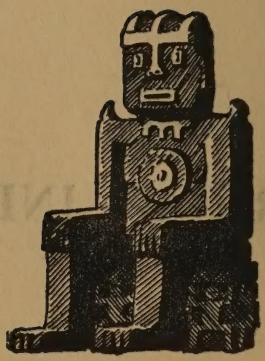


A. HYATT VERRILL


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The AMERICAN INDIAN







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The AMERICAN INDIAN

NORTH, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA

BY

A. HYATT VERRILL

AUTHOR OF
"THE REAL STORY OF THE PIRATE," "THE REAL STORY OF THE WHALER," ETC.



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INTRODUCTION

This book is intended to give an interesting and accurate account of the American Indians (as the natives of America should be called in order to distinguish them from the natives of Asiatic India) from the earliest known inhabitants of the New World until the present day. In particular, the author has endeavored to point out how much we owe the so-called Redman and how outrageously he has been treated; to correct many false ideas and to destroy many misconceptions regarding the Indians of America.

From the time of Columbus, the public has literally been stuffed full of false ideas, misrepresentations and incorrect information regarding the Indians. The very name "Indian" was bestowed upon the aborigines in error. Innumerable other false ideas, which have become popularized, were due also to mistakes, casual observation and ignorance. Many more false ideas have been spread by works of fiction and by deliberate falsehoods and anti-Indian propaganda.

The American Indian has ever occupied a most prominent position in song, poetry and prose. Nearly every one is more or less interested in the Indian. Every boy, at some period of his life, plays Indian; with few exceptions grown men and women are intensely curious and interested in the members of the race; Indian handiwork is always in demand; stories dealing with Indians are eagerly read, and

the Indian collections in our museums invariably attract crowds of visitors. And very few persons really know anything about the Indians as a whole, despite the fact that most of our museums possess splendid collections of Indian ethnology and archeology while The Museum of the American Indian in New York City is, as its name implies, devoted exclusively to the Indian and is the only museum of its kind in the world. Even with modern transportation and motor cars bringing the Indians within easy reach of tourists and travelers, the public as a whole remains lamentably ignorant of the only real Americans.

It is for the benefit of those who are interested in the American Indian, and who desire to acquire a truer and broader knowledge of the so-called "Vanishing Race," that *The American Indian* has been written. As far as possible, the author has avoided all scientific terms and discussions, all technicalities and statistical data. In a work of this size and scope, it would obviously be impossible to describe in detail the characters, habits, arts, etc., of every North, South and Central American tribe. Hence, in most cases, the descriptions are more or less of a composite nature. In some instances where there are several tribes belonging to the same racial stock, the most important and best known tribe has been selected as a representative of all. In other cases, where a number of tribes with similar habits, customs and characteristics inhabit a certain section, such features as are common to all have been selected.

The author also wishes to state that, as far as possible, only such theories and suppositions have been included as have been generally accepted by the most prominent authorities on American archeology and ethnology. "Indianologists" if we may use the term, like all other scientists, often disagree and, for that matter, there is often as much evidence in support of one theory as another. In some cases, however, the author has ventured his own opinions and theories based on personal observations and experiences during many years spent among the Indians of Central and South America in the interests of The Museum of the American Indian. It must be borne in mind that, in nearly every case, theories and deductions regarding many matters are scarcely more than guesswork, and that, at any time, the most widely and universally accepted theories may be completely upset by new and unexpected discoveries.

The author wishes to express his gratitude for the invaluable suggestions, information and assistance rendered by Mr. George G. Heye, Mr. Wm. Orchard, Mr. Gilmore, Prof. Marshall Saville and others of The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; Dr. P. E. Goddard of The American Museum of Natural History, and to many other individuals and institutions.

New York A. Hyatt Verrill

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN

NORTH, SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA

CHAPTER I

WHO ARE THE INDIANS?

EVER since Columbus first stepped upon the shores of a Bahaman Cay, this question has been asked, but never satisfactorily and positively answered. Many theories as to the origin of the American Indian have been advanced; but, in every case, no matter how much evidence there may be to support the theory, there is almost if not quite as much in rebuttal.

For many years geographies and histories boldly stated that the Indian was Mongolian and that his ancestors migrated to America via Bering Strait. And Dr. A. Hrdlicka, who is one of the foremost authorities on the American Indian, still adheres to that theory and claims to have found indisputable evidence in Alaska in support of it.

But, even if we grant that the ancestors of our northwestern and Pacific coast Indians, and perhaps those of Canada, our central plains, and even our northeastern states, came by way of Bering Strait or the Aleutian Islands, there are many facts which

make it most difficult to believe that all the Indians' ancestors arrived by that route. Many of our North American tribes do bear a striking similarity, in physical and facial characteristics, to the Mongol tribes of northeastern Asia, the most strikingly Asiatic of these being the tribes nearest to the Asian coast. But there are as many if not more tribes whose members, as a whole, do not in the least resemble Mongolians, or the natives of northeastern Asia. Many of the Central and South American tribes are far more Malaysian or Polynesian than Mongolian in appearance. In customs, dialects, beliefs, and arts they are totally distinct from either our northwestern Indians or the Asiatic tribes.

Of course, if, as is claimed by the adherents of the Bering Sea route, the migration had been going on for countless centuries before the advent of Europeans in America, the earlier migrants might and probably would have spread far east and south. But would a tribe, or the remote descendants of a tribe, accustomed to a barren, cold country seek and adapt themselves to a heavily forested, steaming hot, tropical environment? And if all the American Indians were descendants of those north Asian nomads, how did it happen that Indians of Central and South America attained a high state of culture and a creditable civilization totally distinct from anything Asiatic, while the aborigines farther north, and in an environment far better adapted to their ancestral life and development, remained largely uncultured savages?

Logically, it would seem that a northern climate

would tend to produce a culture and civilization much sooner than a tropical climate. In the north, stone buildings might be evolved from necessity. Labor of the strenuous sort required to move, shape, and pile up enormous stones would be easier and less destructive in the north than in the tropics, where, one would suppose, the luxuriance of nature, the abundance of food, the enervating climate, and the tendency for man to take life easily, would all militate against a savage race's developing arts, cultures, and civilizations.

No high state of culture and no true civilization existed or does exist among the Mongols of northeastern Asia (unless we except the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Tibetans); but farther south, in Indo-China, Cambodia, and the Malay Archipelago we find a far more cultured and civilized condition with extensive ruins telling of a long forgotten culture developed under almost precisely the same conditions as the Central and South American cultures.

Is it then unreasonable to suppose that there may have been many migrations to America from various parts of Asia, Malaysia, Polynesia, and Europe? Asiatic junks, Malaysian proas, and Polynesian canoes are all seaworthy craft and could make the voyage across the usually calm tropical Pacific.

Can any one state positively, that, in the dim past, a vast archipelago, or even a mid-Pacific continent, might not have existed, thus affording an easy route for man's migration to the western hemisphere?[1]

[1] We have indisputable proof that some of the Indians of our west coast were in more or less direct communication with the mid-

On the tropical eastern seaboard, in the Antilles and northeastern South America, we find Indians wholly distinct from either our United States tribes or the Central American and western South American tribes. Many of these are strikingly Semitic in appearance and still adhere to Semitic customs. If, as many now believe, Atlantis was a fact and not a fancy, might not these Indians be descendants of refugees or voyagers from that lost continent?

Even if Atlantis were purely mythical, is there any reason why natives of southern Europe should not have crossed the Atlantic and settled in America ages before Leif Erikson ventured to our shores? The caravels of Columbus were scarcely as seaworthy as Carib canoes, and Columbus himself found the remains of a European-built vessel on the shore of Guadeloupe on his second voyage. And surely, it would have been little harder for man to have migrated from Greenland to our northeastern coasts than to have come from Asia to Alaska.

Why then, should we assume or try to prove that the entire western hemisphere should have been peopled by straggling wanderers from Asia entering Alaska? What tremendous necessity could have driven hordes of those Mongol nomads from their ancient homes to a new land? Scarcity of food?

Pacific Islands. Among a great number of specimens collected from prehistoric graves and refuse heaps on the California coast by expeditions of the Museum of the American Indian are two implements of unquestionable Pacific-island origin. One of these is a typical Hawaiian stone *poi-pounder*, the other an adze head of stone obviously from some even more remote Pacific island. And it is evident that the *poi-pounder* at least was used by the Indians, as it bears traces of their characteristic asphalt decorations.

Reindeer, fish, seals, and other game and food animals on which those races depend are still sufficiently abundant in Asia to support a large population, and thousands of years ago it is hardly probable that they were any scarcer than to-day. And again, if enough of those barbaric Mongols to form the nucleus for the innumerable Indian tribes migrated to Alaska, there must have been a general exodus from Asia. Why then did not all come?

If large numbers came, bringing, as they must, their possessions, their domestic animals, their arts and customs, why were no Asiatic animals known to the Indians before the advent of the white men; why are not Asiatic customs and arts in evidence among every Indian tribe? Perhaps, it may be claimed, the migration took place so long ago that no distinct arts had been developed and no animals had been domesticated. But in that case, it must have been so long ago that Asia could scarcely have been overcrowded, while the tribes must have been so very primitive that we can scarcely conceive of their venturing far from home or settling in a new land fraught with innumerable unknown perils.

Moreover, the prehistoric migrations were apparently from the northeast to the southwest, rather than vice versa. Throughout eastern, southern, central western, and southwestern North America, we find innumerable tribes all speaking dialects of the Athabascan and Algonquin tongues of the northeastern Indians. But nowhere, aside from the northwestern coastal districts and their immediate vicinity, do we find tribes using dialects of races dwelling

closest to the Bering Sea route. If, as claimed by the advocates of the theory, America was peopled entirely by migrants from northern Asia, how does it happen that the tongues of these Asiatic tribes are still confined to a restricted area in the Northwest, while the Algonquin and Athabascan dialects are common over such an immense area and among so many widely diversified and distributed tribes? Even the most ardent supporter of this theory would hardly go so far as to claim that the early Asiatics crossed to Alaska, wandered across the entire width of North America, completely forgot their ancestral tongue and evolved entirely new and distinct languages and after that proceeded to populate the rest of America. One theory which has been advanced to account for this southerly migration and the wide dissemination of the Athabascan and Algonquin dialects, is that northern North America was inhabited before the glacial period. With the gradual encroachment of the ice cap, animals moved southward and man, who depended upon the creatures, followed. Then, with the ending of the glacial period and the withdrawal of ice, the animals gradually wandered back to the north followed by some tribes, while others, who had in the meantime developed an agricultural life, remained in the more equable and temperate areas.

After all, why should we attempt to account for the American Indian by theories of his ancestors' migrating from the Old World? If man evolved from some lower form, or was created, in Asia, Europe, or Africa, if he has always been indigenous

to any or all of those countries, why should he not have originated in America as well? Is there any valid reason to assume that, if man originated or developed under certain conditions and favorable environment in the Old World, he might not have done the same in the New World under similar conditions?

It is not that the New World is "new" geologically speaking, and the only tenable argument against this hypothesis is the fact that up to the present time no remains of extremely ancient apelike or semihuman beings, such as have been found in the eastern hemisphere, have been discovered in America. But does that prove that such remains may not be found to-morrow or next year? Regardless of the original source of man in America, there is no doubt that he has been here for an immeasurable length of time. In our southwest, fossil skeletons of a giant bison of the Pleistocene period have been found, resting upon stone arrow and spear heads in such a position as to indicate that the animals were killed by these weapons and remained undisturbed where they fell, thus proving that man not only inhabited the New World in that inconceivably remote geological period, but had actually advanced further in culture in America than in the Old World. We must bear in mind that, compared with Europe, Asia, and other Old World countries, America is thinly settled and has been in the possession of the white race for a very short time. In America there are vast areas and countless caves which have never been examined. In Europe

practically every square mile of territory has been searched for human remains; yet discoveries are constantly being made, even in such well-known and densely populated countries as England.

Though no human remains of great antiquity have yet been found in America, we know that the American aborigines had reached a high state of culture and had established a state of civilization at a time when many of the European races were still skin-clad savages. No Old World race of their time, not even the Egyptians, the Greeks, or the Romans, ever excelled or even equaled the feats of road-building, masonry, and stone-cutting attained by the Peruvians; and no Old World potentate, not even "Solomon in all his glory," was ever surrounded with such a pomp of riches as the precious metals, gems, and treasures of art possessed by the rulers of the Incas, the Aztecs, and the Mayas.

If, as is logical to assume, man's gradual progress from primitive, semihuman beings to a highly cultured and civilized race requires a more or less definite period of time, then, most assuredly, we have every reason to think that man must have inhabited America for a longer period than Europe.

Personally, I am convinced that the Indian originated in America, although probably he was influenced by and became mixed with migrants from Asia, Malaysia, and Europe. I know several prominent scientists who are in accord with me in this belief.

Comparatively few authorities, however, agree on their theories of the origin of the American Indian,

and as every man has a right to his own opinion on the subject, it may be interesting to consider the more important reasons for and against the theory of the American Indians being of Old World origin.

First, we have the physical characteristics: the straight, coarse, black hair; the narrow, often oblique eyes; the high cheek bones and the yellowish brown skin. These Mongolian characters would be of great importance if every American Indian tribe possessed them; but, as a matter of fact, these facial characteristics are by no means typical of even a small proportion of the American Indians. Many tribes have full round eyes; others have brown and rather fine hair; in others the cheek bones are not noticeably high or prominent; and the American Indian's color varies from almost black to a light olive no darker than that of a native of southern Europe.

Even when these Mongol characteristics do appear they may be accounted for in several ways. When living under similar conditions and like environment, races, through generations, will acquire more or less similar characteristics. The inhabitants of a treeless desert or plains district will squint, and in time will acquire eyes best adapted to the glare and sun. The Caucasian who lives for years upon the plains or the desert becomes narrow eyed, and the same conditions which developed the high cheek bones and oblique eyes of the Asiatic Mongols might reasonably be expected to produce similar features in another race living under somewhat similar conditions.

No mammal is so adaptable to climatic and other conditions as man. His body, his character, his life, and even his psychology rapidly acquire characteristics suited to his environment. Thus the Indian whose life is spent in tramping and running in open country is a tall, long limbed, sinewy, and spare type; the mountain Indian is shorter with a broad deep chest to accommodate lungs suited to a thin atmosphere and with thews enormously developed for climbing; and the Indian of the tropical jungles is undersized, stocky, with thin, underdeveloped limbs, and tremendous shoulders and chest acquired through generations of paddling canoes along rivers and creeks.

If, as was undoubtedly the case, migrants from Asia now and then found their way to America and were absorbed by the races already here, their physical characters would be perpetuated to some extent and might greatly influence the race with which they mixed. The Mongolian facial characters are very persistent and even where there is a very small percentage of Mongolian blood in a European the typical Mongol features are usually distinguishable.

Another point which has often been brought forward as proof of the American Indian's Old World origin is the presence of pyramids in Mexico, Central and South America, and elsewhere. It has been stated repeatedly that these prove that the Indian's ancestors came from Egypt or Asia, or even from Atlantis. But if the knowledge of pyramid construction was brought to America by migrants from Egypt or southern Asia, then the mi-

grations must have been fairly recent and long after the wanderers had gone beyond the primitive stone age. In that case we are again faced with the problem of why no Old World domestic animals, no Old World fruits, grains, or plants were introduced to America before the arrival of the Spaniards. Moreover, if the migrants were familiar with the pyramids of Egypt how can we account for the fact that pyramids are not known in northern Asia or in Europe?

We do not need to look so far in order to account for the American pyramids. The pyramid is the simplest and most natural form of monument or building. Dump a load of sand or broken stone and it forms a pyramid. Give a child a pile of sand or even a box of blocks and the child will at once and instinctively build a miniature pyramid. And primitive man, endeavoring to erect a large structure or monument, would, quite naturally, hit upon the pyramidal form. It would, in fact, be about the only form he could erect without encountering serious engineering problems, for the pyramid can be built without elaborate stagings, without hoisting the materials vertically by means of tackle, and without danger of superimposed weight crushing or forcing asunder the lower portions of the edifice.

Another point which has been greatly stressed is the occurrence, in American Indian arts and architecture, of apparently Asiatic designs and patterns, such as the swastika, the cross, the Greek key, etc. But who can say how much of this was coincidence or the natural result of man's working along similar

lines to obtain similar results? The first form of ornamentation is straight lines and dots, and it is but a step from these to crosses, swastikas, and various forms of the Greek-key design.

The use of grotesque masks by both Asiatic and American tribes has also been used as an argument in favor of the Mongolian origin of the Indian. But every primitive race throughout the world uses masks. The Greeks, Egyptians, Romans, and even the Africans and Polynesians made and used masks. Masks, as a rule, are merely representations of human or brute faces made grotesque and with the expressions signifying emotions greatly exaggerated. Even where they represent spirits or demons, the features are merely those of wild animals or human beings distorted and combined until almost unrecognizable. There is very little if any more similarity between American Indian masks, as a whole, and those of Tibet and other Asiatic districts, than between the Indian masks and those of Central Africa or the South Sea Islands.

Finally, there is the question of the elephant in American sculpture and art. Certain sculptured figures of Aztec, Mayan, and other cultures, as well as figurines and decorations on pottery, are more or less elephantine in character. These show the long nose or proboscis clearly; but it has become a generally accepted theory on the part of the most prominent archæologists and ethnologists that these figures were intended to represent tapirs, ant bears, or even macaws with exaggerated snouts.

However, among the many sculptured stone idols

unearthed by the author in Panama was one which cannot be accounted for on this basis. This figure is not only elephantine in its proportions and the presence of a trunk, but, in addition, the hind legs bend forward at the knees and the ears are large, flat, and leaflike. These are characters peculiar to the elephant and could not by any possibility have been imagined by the sculptor. Moreover, the figure bears a burden upon its back.

If this, as it seems undeniable, actually represents an elephant, then, at first thought, we would assume that the prehistoric denizens of Panama were of Asiatic origin. But in that case would not elephants have been more often represented? Unquestionably the sculptor must have had an intimate knowledge of the most salient peculiarities of the elephant. But can we state positively that extinct species of American elephants—mastodons or mammoths—might not have existed as great rarities at the time when this stone was cut? Or again, even if the last American elephant had passed away centuries before, is it not within reason to think that tradition and fable had perpetuated a knowledge of the beasts? And if, as might be possible, chance voyagers from Asia visited America in those prehistoric days, it would be only natural that they should have related stories of their land and its wonders and that among these the elephant should have most impressed the American natives who heard the tales.

In the Old Dartmouth Historical Society Museum at New Bedford, Massachusetts, is a carved and

decorated walrus tusk which, were its origin and history unknown, might be used as proof that the Eskimos were of mixed African and European origin. Upon it are shown weird beasts unlike anything American—creatures which are evidently giraffes—human beings walking a tight rope, and an unmistakable striped barber's pole. And yet the Eskimo artist who carved the tusk had never seen any of these. A young Eskimo was taken by a whaleman to San Francisco, and, upon his return to his tribe, he related the wonders he had seen, which included a circus, a menagerie, and a barber's shop. To perpetuate such adventures on the part of a tribesman, the tribal artist engraved the tusk with figures as he imagined them from his friend's description. So, may we not account for the elephant figure I have mentioned, and perhaps the various other elephantine figures in prehistoric American sculpture, as the results of travelers' tales or traditions handed down from the days when American pachyderms roamed the western hemisphere?

Now let us consider the facts which are, apparently, in rebuttal of the theory of the Asiatic origin of the Indian race. First, we note the presence in America of various cultivated plants and domesticated animals unknown in the Old World previous to the voyages of Columbus. Pumpkins, maize, potatoes, lima beans, peanuts, cacao, and many other food plants and fruits were cultivated and had been brought to a high state of perfection by the American Indians, but were wholly unknown in Europe or Asia. Guinea pigs, the Inca dog, turkeys, llamas,

and other mammals and birds had been domesticated and bred until the original wild ancestors could not be determined, and yet none of these were known to Europeans or Asiatics.

On the other hand, cattle, horses, asses, goats, sheep, swine, and common poultry, wheat, apples, and many European and Asiatic food plants and domestic animals were entirely unknown to the Indians. Had there been any extensive migration or intercourse between the two hemispheres it would seem that some of these various plants or animals, which must have been cultivated and bred for thousands of years, would have been common to the Old World and the New. Even tobacco and the custom of smoking had never been known in Europe and Asia. Yet, of all things, these would have been the first to have spread across Asia to Europe had there been any regular communication and barter between the American Indians and the Mongolian tribes.

Many of the customs and much of the handiwork of the American Indians were absolutely new to the first European arrivals. In this connection it must be remembered that long before the days of Columbus, European travelers had visited Asia and India and had brought back many specimens of strange things and had related detailed and rather accurate and trustworthy tales of their adventures and discoveries. Hence the Spaniards, and later the French, Dutch, and English, would certainly have been cognizant of anything used or owned by the Americans and Asiatics in common.

The birch-bark canoes of our eastern and northern Indians were new, and yet birch bark is abundant in northern Europe and Asia. Hammocks were new to the Europeans. Cannibals were a discovery of the early voyagers. The almost universal use of elaborate feather headdresses invariably elicited the wonder and admiration of the Europeans.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, is the fact that no American tribe possessed a knowledge of the wheel. Although the most useful and widely known invention of the human race, although known and used by the most ancient cultures and civilizations of Europe, Africa, and Asia, the wheel was unknown to the American Indians. Neither the Incas, the Mayas, nor the Aztecs possessed wheels of any description, nor had they learned the secret even of the potter's wheel.

Perhaps the most puzzling and remarkable feature of prehistoric American civilizations is the fact that the wheel was unknown and that all the mighty engineering feats, all the elaborate structures of those cultures had been accomplished without using the wheel. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as every tribe which had progressed beyond savagery and had developed any arts used disks of wood, stone, or clay and knew how to employ rollers when moving heavy objects. One would think that it would have been impossible for the Indians to have avoided discovering the wheel. We would suppose that a disk of wood or other material, a plate or dish, falling and rolling on edge would have suggested the idea. But obviously it never did, and

we can only surmise what heights of civilization might have been attained by the Mayas, the Incas, or the Aztecs had they hit upon this labor-saving key to all mechanical devices.

The entire absence of the wheel everywhere in America in pre-Columbian days is, to my mind, the strongest evidence against the Old World origin of the Indian. And it is the strongest evidence against any direct communication between America and the eastern hemisphere previous to the coming of the Spaniards. Had there been communication it is inconceivable that the wheel should not have been introduced to America, for, ages before the time of Columbus, it was known to civilized and semicivilized man throughout the entire Old World.

These are but a few of the many reasons which might be cited in support of or in contradiction to various theories of the origin of the American Indian. A volume might be filled with others, but the above will serve to illustrate the basis of these theories. Whenever facts or arguments are produced in support of one theory, the opposition can find others to offset and nullify them. It is a controversy which may never be settled to every one's satisfaction. We may never know positively who the American Indians are. However, at any time some discovery may be made which will settle the question for all time.

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORIC AMERICANS

NO one can state definitely how long the American Indians have inhabited the western hemisphere. And no one can positively state that the earliest denizens of the New World were of the same race as the Indians of modern times. We know, from innumerable remains, rude stone implements and weapons, and fragments of skeletons, that America has been inhabited by man for thousands of years, but, as yet, no human remains have ever been found in America which are anywhere near as ancient as the remains of man found in Europe and other portions of the Old World. In Europe, Africa, Asia, and elsewhere, skulls and skeletal fragments have been found which, regardless of whether we believe in the Darwinian theory or not, are unquestionably the remains of beings very distinct from any living race of man, and scarcely above the apes in intelligence and other characteristics. The series of such remains forms an almost unbroken chain of development from the lowest types to man as we know him, and proves that the races of the Old World originated and advanced in the districts they inhabited and in which they left the enduring traces of their occupancy.

As yet nothing of this sort has been found in the

western hemisphere. In every case, human remains so far discovered in America are, anatomically, practically identical with the skeletal structure of existing Indians. All are, geologically, modern, although extremely ancient as reckoned in terms of years. And we know, too, from ruins and handiwork, that many prehistoric American peoples had attained a high state of culture and civilization centuries before Columbus set forth on his famous voyages. For any race to rise from primitive savagery to the heights attained by these races, for men to evolve, develop, and perfect distinctive cultures and arts requires countless centuries, and as the civilizations, arts, and cultures of the prehistoric Americans were wholly distinct from those of any other portion of the world, we know that men must have dwelt in America for inconceivable ages and must have slowly evolved from lowly savages to the highly intelligent, cultured, and civilized beings whom the first Europeans found in Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere. Even those tribes which had not attained such heights had developed characters, habits, customs, beliefs, arts, and traits entirely distinct from those of any Old World races. All of this must have required thousands of years of life in the environment to which they had fitted themselves.

Unfortunately, the first chapters of the story of the Indian are shrouded in mystery, while many pages of the Indian's later history are missing, for the invading Spaniards and later Europeans ruthlessly destroyed priceless records and material

which, did we but possess them to-day, would throw much light on the story of the prehistoric Americans.

As it is, we are forced to piece the story together as best we may, finding a bit here, a bit there, building from the crumbling remains hidden in mountains, deserts, and jungles, sifting the accounts and tales of the conquerors and early European adventurers, delving in musty old manuscripts and worm-eaten tomes, searching in vast forests and hidden caves, digging in the reeking earth of the tropics, searching tombs and graves, reconstructing crumbling ruins, and studying fragments of pottery, stone, and metalwork. It is, in fact, much like putting together a jig-saw picture puzzle on a gigantic scale with many of the most important pieces missing. It is fascinating work and, through the many years that countless skilled scientists have been laboring at it, much has been accomplished—far more in fact than the public is aware of and far more than might be expected from the material available.

But still we have very little definite information regarding the antiquity of man in America. Indeed, it is practically impossible to say which of the various cultures and civilizations, which of the more primitive types of human remains, is the oldest. Aside from the stone implements and occasional bits of human bones which are found from time to time deeply buried in earth and gravel, and which far antedate the modern Indian, we have, within the borders of the United States, many remains of far more cultured and advanced races of whose history









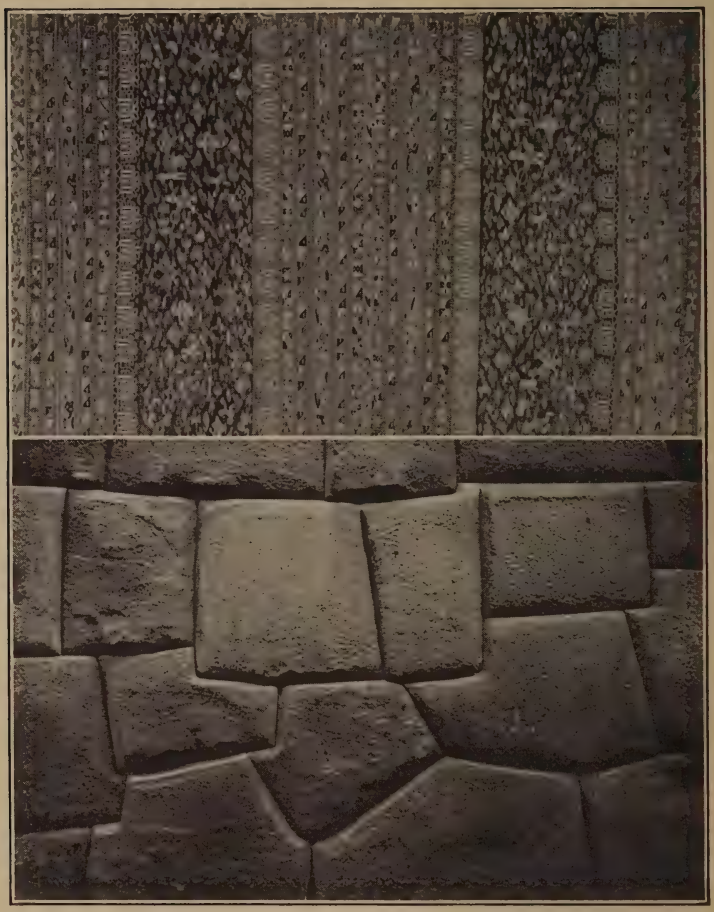
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

SCULPTURED SLAB,
MANABI CULTURE, ECUADOR

STONE SEAT,
MANABI CULTURE, ECUADOR

ARYBAL, INCA, PERU

JAR, PRE-INCA, NASCA,
PERU



INCA OR PRE-INCA CULTURE

Textile, Lake Titicaca
Section of Wall, Cuzco, Peru

we know little and the antiquity of which is largely guesswork. Such are the famous mounds of the central states, the cave dwellings of our southern states, the salt caves of the western states, the ancient pueblos and the cliff dwellings.

Although the mounds of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys have been known since the days of the first European visitors to those districts; although many theories have been advanced in regard to them and their builders; although vast amounts of material, in the form of artifacts and implements, have been taken from the mounds; still they remain a puzzle, an unsolved mystery, and few archæologists care to express any definite opinion regarding the race which constructed them and used them as burial places. That the mound builders were, racially, akin to if not identical with the existing American Indian, is unquestionable, for, within the past year, several very complete skeletons have been obtained from some of the mounds. But that the mound builders were distinct from any of the other North American tribes is also definitely established. No other tribe built such immense, carefully designed mounds; no other tribe possessed the same type of utensils, weapons, and ornaments. The recently discovered human remains, still covered with their decorations, their pearl-encrusted garments, their finely woven textiles, and with their copper helmets intact, prove that the mound builders were, in many arts and cultures, far in advance of the Indian tribes which inhabited the district at the time of the advent of the Europeans.

And yet no one can place any exact or even approximate date as the period when these mysterious people lived and died and built their vast mounds. Some scientists have asserted that the mound builders showed evidences of Mayan influence and that it was their belief that the ancient Mayas of Mexico and Central America once held sway over much of our west and southwest and established colonies or trading posts in the Mississippi Valley. But, if this is so, we are faced with the fact that no really distinctive traces of Mayan influence have yet been found in all that vast territory between the area occupied by the mound builders and the country of the Mayas.

Much the same condition, as regards their antiquity, exists in regard to the cave dwellers of Kentucky and other southern states, the cliff dwellers of the West, the occupants of the salt and bat caves of Utah and Nevada, and other prehistoric denizens of the United States. In some of these caves, vast numbers of specimens have been found which, when cleaned and placed on exhibition in a museum, appear so perfect, so fresh, and so untouched by time that it is almost impossible for the layman to believe that they are immeasurably ancient.

In the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City, one may see baskets, feather robes, delicate woven fish nets, wooden utensils, and even stuffed and mounted ducks and geese, which were used as decoys, as perfectly preserved as though prepared or made yesterday.

Even the mummified bodies of the cave dwellers are there, still wrapped in their blankets and fur and feather robes, and it seems incredible that hundreds, probably thousands, of years, have passed since the various objects were left deserted in the caves. Yet all of these were found deeply buried under many feet of bat guano which, slowly accumulating through the centuries, had acted as a preservative for the treasures underneath.

All of the articles found in these bat caves prove beyond question that the cave dwellers were far more than savages, that even at the far distant time when they lived they had reached a certain stage of culture, had acquired arts and handicrafts, and that they were modern as compared with their primitive ancestors of whose existence we have no trace.

It must be remembered that much of our lack of knowledge of the earliest Americans is due to the fact that, only under unusual or peculiar conditions are perishable objects preserved for any great length of time when buried in the earth. Only pottery and stonework resist the action of the elements and resist decay and disintegration, whereas, within sheltered caves, within cliff dwellings and pueblos, or even in well-made tombs, the most fragile and perishable objects may remain in perfect condition for thousands of years.

Little can be learned, regarding the comparative antiquity or sequence of various arts and cultures, by studying such material as pottery, stone artifacts, carvings, etc. It might be thought that a fairly accurate sequence of tribal development might be

constructed in this way, for at first thought we might assume that the skill which a race showed in making stone implements or pottery would be a key to their antiquity or cultural status; that crude implements and a lack of pottery would indicate a more ancient race than well-made stone articles and highly finished pottery. But, very often, this is far from being the case. In many instances, races which had reached the highest attainments in ceramic arts had never learned to make even passably good stone tools and weapons, while other races, which had developed stone-working to a high art, had never discovered how to make anything but the crudest pottery.

Moreover, it is highly probable that the art of basketry far antedated pottery, and that wooden implements and weapons were used for ages before man first learned to chip or rub stone into shape. Indeed, in our western caves and cliff dwellings, many specimens have been found which prove that baskets were used before earthenware. Even after primitive Americans discovered how to mold and bake clay, the pots and other vessels were formed by plastering the clay over a basket woven in the desired form, and the pattern of the basket may be plainly traced on the baked surface of the pottery.

But whether the cave dwellers came before the cliff dwellers, or vice versa, is an unsettled question. It is not improbable, however, that both these and the pueblo dwellers were closely related, if not of the same race, for it is an easy and natural step for

a cave-dwelling race to form more commodious dwellings by constructing artificial caves in a cliff, and from a partly excavated and partly built-up cliff dwelling it is a still easier step to evolve a pueblo which, after all, is nothing more nor less than an artificial cliff built up of houses. Beyond doubt, also, the inhabitants of the caves sought these caverns and used them as dwellings largely because of their inaccessible situations and their protective advantages. Exactly the same reasons led to the cliff dwellers' habits. The outstanding features of a pueblo are its doorless houses and blank walls, its almost fortresslike inaccessibility when the ladders, which admit ingress to the houses, are drawn up, and its defensive possibilities.

That the cave and cliff dwellers, like the pueblo dwellers, were subject to attacks by hostile and savage tribes is proved abundantly by specimens which may be seen in various museums. Many skeletons and bones have been found which show stone arrowheads embedded in the bones. Some of these evidently proved fatal, for the splintered bones are still rough and sharp about the arrowheads. In other cases the bony tissues healed and partly covered the weapon and the victims lived on for years, although they must have been most uncomfortable and in constant agony. One specimen, in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, shows an arrow point embedded in the knee joint where, at every motion, it must have caused excruciating pain, although the wound in the bone was perfectly healed and had grown about the stone arrowhead. Many

of these specimens telling of savage warfare, long centuries before the advent of Europeans, prove that the cliff and cave dwellers were seeking refuge when attacked. In these the arrow points are embedded in the back of the pelvis, the back of the thighs and the spine, and their positions show that they were fired from below and struck when the victims were clambering upward in a vain effort to seek the safety of their dwellings in the cliffside. But whether the mound builders, the cave dwellers, or the cliff dwellers were the most ancient of Americans of whom we find complete remains, there is no doubt that they were all Indians, and the same is true of the far more cultured and civilized races of Mexico, Central and South America.

Very little is definitely known regarding the earlier prehistoric American races and cultures. The mound builders may be the most ancient, but as yet we cannot say who these people were, or even approximately estimate the age of their remains. But we know that they were much farther along the road to civilization than most of the Indians inhabiting North America at the time of its discovery by Europeans. Their stone artifacts and pottery were not very different from those of other tribes of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, but they had learned the use of metal, and made excellent ornaments, masks, helmets, and implements of copper, and used fresh-water pearls extensively.[1]

[1] Quite recently the theory has been advanced that the mound builders were driven from their homes by a supposed invasion of the Norsemen in the twelfth century and, wandering southward, formed the Aztec civilization. The sponsor of this theory bases his

Very ancient, and unquestionably the oldest of true cultures in the west and southwest, were the basket-makers, so called because of the high quality of their baskets and the fact that they had not learned the use of pottery. Some of the later basket-makers, however, apparently made a few articles of crude pottery. Most of the known remains of these people have been obtained from caves where the dry atmosphere and bat dung have preserved even the most fragile and perishable objects in marvelous manner. Beautiful baskets, stuffed birds used for decoys, robes of fur and feathers, wooden utensils and weapons, fish nets, and even the bodies of the Indians, are all found in perfect condition. In many cases, too, the basket-makers' remains are found in graves covered deeply with the refuse and accumulated remains of the later cliff dwellers.

These cliff dwellers, who first occupied caves and later walled these up and built stone houses within them, were much more advanced than the basket-

assumptions on ancient myths and legends of the Indians and on the religions and other customs of the Aztecs, claiming that the Aztec god known as the plumed serpent, was in reality a Viking whose chain mail and winged helmet resembled a snake's scales and plumed head. All of this seems, at first glance, quite logical and reasonable. But the enthusiastic advocate of the theory seems to have overlooked the rather important fact that the civilization of the Aztecs and their belief in the plumed serpent had existed for ages before the twelfth century, as we know from archæological and geological evidence. Moreover, we have abundant proof, in the form of prehistoric remains, that long before the dawn of Aztec civilization, even more ancient Central American tribes revered the plumed serpent and perpetuated the god in their sculptures, carvings, and decorations on their ceramics. The Incan empire, probably the youngest of American civilizations, had existed for over five centuries before Pizarro reached Peru, or over one hundred years before the date attributed to the Norsemen's visit.

makers. They were doubtless the ancestors of the present-day Pueblos who merely abandoned natural caves in favor of man-made, cavelike dwellings. Farther south, in Mexico and Central and South America, were innumerable other races much more cultured and civilized than any of the North American tribes. Very little is known regarding many of these, although their remains show an advanced culture and a high development of many arts which range all the way from beautiful ceramics and notable stone sculptures to the highest attainments in engineering, astronomy, and architecture.

Among the cultures of which we really know nothing may be mentioned the Chiriqui culture of Panama, the Nicoya culture of Costa Rica, the Coclé culture, and the Manabi culture of Ecuador. The Costa Rican cultures and the Chiriqui culture are very similar and were probably identical. The outstanding features of this cultural group are the various forms of well-made pottery utensils, some in polychrome, the extensive use of animal, human, and other natural forms in ceramics and sculptures, and the preponderance of three-legged urns, together with beautifully designed and cleverly executed objects of gold. Many of these are cast hollow, others are made by combining casting and welding, and others are of filigree work.

Jumping from southern Costa Rica and Panama to Ecuador, we find the remarkable Manabi culture of which we know nothing. Here the outstanding features are the wonderfully carved stone slabs or tablets, and immense stone seats resembling the old

Roman chairs. These are found scattered on the hills in the jungle with no traces of ruined cities or buildings, the supposition being that the race erected wooden or cane buildings which disappeared countless centuries ago. In their pottery, the Manabi race had reached a high state of perfection and had developed a typical form of long, slender vessels with pointed bottoms. They used animal and human figures extensively, and had a highly developed artistic taste, as shown in the colors and designs used on their ceramics and sculptures. They were among the most clever and remarkable of goldsmiths; many of their beautifully wrought gold beads were smaller than the head of a common pin, the chased ornamentation being visible only through a magnifying glass.

Far more advanced in the art of ceramics and perhaps, indeed probably, the most ancient of known cultures in Central America, was the race which, thousands of years ago, inhabited the Coclé district of Panama. Its existence was undreamed of until discovered by the author two years ago. That this was a large race and that the district was inhabited by a vast population is proved by the fact that their remains cover an area of over fifty square miles and that, in many places, the deposits of potsherds and other refuse cover hundreds of acres for a depth of many yards.

In their pottery these Coclé people excelled any other known American race with the exception of the Incan races. The bulk of the Coclé pottery is polychrome ware. Bright reds, yellows, blues, and

purples predominate, the last two colors being unknown on any other prehistoric American ceramics. Many of their vessels were made in two layers, the inner surface being one color and the outer another. In other cases true color slips were used, and many pieces show a true though rather primitive glaze. In coloring their pottery these people used pulverized agates, metallic ores, etc., which served the dual purpose of tempering and coloring the clay. In form and size the pottery ranges from saucers and plates to ollas, carafes, pots, and urns several feet in diameter. The three-legged type is almost wanting, molded animal and human figures are not common, while portrait jars and sculptured or engraved ceramics are abundant.

In decorative patterns the ware is most distinctive, the typical *motif* of the culture being intricate and beautifully designed scrolls which are worked into conventional designs and into animal, bird, vegetable, and human figures which, though intricate and conventionalized, are easily recognizable. Many of the vessels are strikingly Egyptian in form and decorations, figures resembling mummy cases being used commonly, together with pyramidal figures, scarablike figures, the ibis, and the lotus *motifs*.

In their stone sculptures also these Indians had reached a high state of culture. Most notable of these are the numerous stone idols or monuments, representing human beings and various animals. These were usually carved at the top of a large squared or cylindrical stone column and were most accurately and artistically designed and sculptured.



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

SHIELD OF WOOD WITH TURQUOISE MOSAIC,
AZTEC CULTURE, MEXICO

POTTERY VESSEL, MAYA CULTURE,
BRITISH HONDURAS



Photographs by the author

COCLÉ CULTURE, PANAMA

Stone Column Column with "Elephant" Figure Stone Idols
Sacrificial Altar
Plate of Polychrome Ware Plate of Red, Blue, and Black Ware
Urn with Purple, Red and Black Decorations

It was among these that the "elephant" figure mentioned in Chapter I was found. This would seem to prove conclusively that the Coclé people were either in communication with Asia or else had traditional knowledge of prehistoric American pachyderms.

In addition to the stone sculptures, the Coclé people erected vast numbers of immense stone phallic columns or steles, some roughly squared, others worked to cylindrical form, and others elaborately carved in figures which appear to be hieroglyphic inscriptions, or at least symbolic records. In one spot are the remains of a vast temple or ceremonial place covering fully one hundred acres. Hundreds of the huge stone columns and carved stone idols are arranged in rows running north and south and east and west, to form a quadrangle. The stone monoliths radiate from a central column surrounded by four fine stone figures, one a man, another a woman, the third a bird, and the fourth a jaguar.

Throughout this area, remains of "sacrificed" or "killed" stone implements, artifacts and weapons, *metates,* small idols or fetishes, ornaments, and incalculable numbers of magnificent pottery vessels were found everywhere, from a few inches to ten or twelve feet below the surface. On altarlike stone slabs the remains of human sacrifices were discovered. Here, too, were obtained two wonderfully sculptured sacrificial stones or altars.

In the vicinity of the temple and throughout the area of remains, burials were numerous. In every

case these show that the body was placed in an immense pottery urn in a shallow clay-lined grave and was then cremated, the fire at the same time baking the clay grave lining. During the ceremonies it is evident that the people gathered about and sacrificed their belongings by casting them into the funeral fire for, in every instance, the graves are filled with vast numbers of broken utensils, vessels, weapons, etc.

Although they had reached such a high culture in many directions, yet, as is the case with the Manabi culture, the Coclé people were still in a most primitive condition as regards stone implements and weapons. Very few of the thousands of stone artifacts found are even passably good, and the majority are little more than crudely shaped bits of stone. The spear and arrowheads are very poor; the axes and celts are with few exceptions crude. How the race could have done such amazing work with such miserable tools is a mystery.

Also remarkable is the fact that these people had not learned to use copper or gold. With the exception of a beautifully made nose ring of bloodstone with gold-capped tips, no trace of gold was discovered among the remains, and it is not improbable that the gold used on this ornament was obtained by trade from some other tribe.

In many ways the cultural characteristics of the Coclé race are similar to Mayan art, while in other ways they are reminiscent of Incan culture; yet they are totally distinct from any. Whether the Coclé race, living midway between the Incan and

Mexican civilizations, was influenced by both, or whether the Coclés were the predecessors of the Mexican and Incan cultures, is unknown. But, as nearly as we can judge, the Coclé culture antedated any of the better-known so-called civilizations of the prehistoric American races.

Over the tops of the largest stone figures, decayed vegetable matter and earth has accumulated to a depth of seven or eight feet, and as the figures originally stood for fully four feet above the surface of the earth, the total accumulation of mold is from ten to fifteen feet. Above the uppermost deposits of potsherds is only a foot or less of deposit. Assuming that the spot was inhabited and in use up to the time of the Spanish conquest, and that this superficial layer of mold represents not more than four hundred years' deposit, the time which has elapsed since the stone monoliths were carved and erected could not be less than four thousand years, and was probably at least twice that.

Moreover, it has been stated by dependable authorities that the Mayas erected a phallic monument every twenty years, and if the Coclé people followed a similar custom, then the hundreds of such steles in the temple site alone would indicate an age of thousands of years. Likewise, the great depth of the deposits of sacrificed or killed objects which often surround the idols and monuments would indicate that the district was inhabited and the temple used for fully two thousand years.

Naturally the question arises as to why these people deserted the district and completely disap-

peared. The answer I think is to be found in the proximity of the volcano of Guacamayo which, even to-day, still shows signs of activity. This volcano is barely six miles from the temple site, and much of the intervening territory is covered to a depth of several feet with a deposit of volcanic ash of comparatively recent formation. Under this ash, remains of villages, pottery, stone artifacts, and burials were found, and the condition of the monuments and stone idols shows conclusively that they were subjected to terrific earthquakes. Hence it is reasonable to assume that a volcanic eruption destroyed many of the people and drove the others from their homes and that, frightened and dismayed, and with their sacred idols cast down and broken by the earth tremors, the survivors sought refuge in far distant lands and entirely lost their cultures, or perhaps, joined forces with other races and so introduced certain features of their arts and cultures to other tribes.

But as we do not definitely know the age of the Coclé, Mayan, Toltec-Aztec, or pre-Incan civilizations or cultures we cannot say positively which of all these was the most ancient. Space forbids a detailed description of the Aztecs, Mayas, pre-Incas, or Incas which are the best known of early American civilizations and which form a subject by themselves. Moreover, many volumes have been published regarding these, although, unfortunately, much misinformation and many exaggerated statements have been written about them.

Of the three, for we must include the Incan and

pre-Incan cultures under one head, the Mayan civilization probably reached the highest point. The Mayas were notable for their extensive and magnificently sculptured buildings, their high attainments in astronomy and other sciences, their gold work, and their beautiful polychrome and intricately sculptured pottery. They had a written or rather sculptured language, consisting of hieroglyphs which are now decipherable, and by means of which we may secure a deep knowledge of their organization and life. Human sacrifices were common, and selected virgins were cast into a sacred well which has given up great numbers of ceremonial objects, ornaments, etc., of gold, copper, and stone. Vast numbers of bronze bells have also been found.

Recent excavations have revealed hitherto unexpected and unknown features of the Mayan civilization. Among these discoveries is an observatory or tower provided with slitlike apertures for studying the heavens, numerous beautifully painted carvings, frescoes, mosaics, and mural decorations.

In many respects the Aztec civilization closely resembled the Mayan, which is not surprising, as at certain periods the Toltecs influenced the Mayas and vice versa. The outstanding features of the Toltec-Aztec culture were the sacrificial stones on which, at the summits of pyramidal temples, human sacrifices were made to the sun god and other deities; the huge stone yokes used to secure the victims of the sacrifices; the beautifully wrought and often immense knives, spear heads, and other implements of obsidian; mirrors of polished obsidian; magnifi-

cent mosaics of turquoise on wood, in the form of plaques, shields, masks, etc.; copper or bronze tools and weapons; elaborately ornamented and decorated pottery, often made in halved molds; carved onyx and semiprecious stones; feather cloaks and garments; and immense pyramids and magnificent buildings.

Like the Mayas, the Aztecs delighted in producing symbolic human figures of most intricate and elaborate design, in both stone and pottery; and like the Mayas, the Aztecs possessed an intimate and advanced knowledge of astronomy and had a cleverly designed and accurately computed calendar sculptured in stone.

Moreover, their records were preserved by means of codices, strips of material bearing painted figures, characters, etc., many of which are preserved in the various museums. Originally these codices were painted on parchment, later they were made of bark cloth, and still later they were painted on a tough paper made of the amote fiber.

Prominent among the Aztec deities was Chacmool, a god who is usually represented in a reclining position with his hands resting on a platelike object on his stomach, and the plumed serpent, the god of war. But these and other gods were not distinctively Aztec nor exclusively confined to that race. Both occur, together with many others, in Mayan sculptures and ceramics, and the plumed serpent is represented on many of the pottery specimens from the Coclé cultural remains. Just how far south these gods were worshiped is not known, but

statues of Chacmool have been obtained in Guatemala and Honduras. Mayan influence extended as far as Bocas del Toro in Panama, and the Guaymis of Chiriqui in Panama show unmistakable traces of Aztec ancestry and influences.

Distinct from any of these Mexican and Central American cultures and civilizations were the so-called civilizations of the Incas and pre-Incas. While the Aztecs and Mayas excelled in stone sculpture and elaborately ornamental stone buildings and in the arts, the Incas were preëminently engineers and organizers.

Little is really known of their origin or age, despite the fact that the Incan empire was thriving at the time of Pizarro. But that the true Incas were of comparatively recent origin is well known. According to tradition at the time of the Spanish conquest there had been fourteen Incas or rulers, the first being Manco Capac who reigned about 1000 A.D., or little more than five hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards. This chronology is without doubt largely legendary, and little if any reliance can be placed upon the estimated age of the Incan Empire. Written or accurately recorded history was unknown to the Incas, and tradition by word of mouth is always unreliable. It is inconceivable that the Indians should have reached such a high state of culture in five centuries, especially as the pre-Incan culture had been completely forgotten. The chances are that the Incan Empire had existed for nearer five thousand than five hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards. Following this

first Inca were Sinchin Roca, Lloque Yupanqui, Maita Capac, Capac Yupanqui, Inca Roca, Yahuar Huanac, Huira Cocha, Pacha Cutec, Amaru Inca, Tupac Yupanqui, Huayna Capac, Huascar, and Atahualpa. Atahualpa was murdered by Pizarro and ended the Inca line as far as rulers were concerned, although lineal descendants of the line still exist and are regarded as regal by the Indians of Peru and Bolivia (see Chapter IV).

Long before the first Inca saw the light of day, however, a well organized and highly developed civilization had existed in Peru and Bolivia. Just who these pre-Incas were is uncertain; but we know that their monolithic statues, their marvelous engineering feats, their magnificent pottery, and their innumerable arts were often far superior to those of the true Incas, and much of the so-called Inca work is in reality pre-Inca.

In all probability the pre-Incan culture of Tiahuanaco and about Lake Titicaca was of Quichua origin and was destroyed by the Collas of the Aimara race. The surviving Quichuas were thus scattered and became divided into subtribes such as the Yungas of the coast under Chimu, with their capital at Chanchan; the Tumbes about Supa and at Pachacamac, under Cuis Manco and Chuquis Manco; the Chinchas and Nazcas, the Huancas, Cajamarcas, and Porcas in the northern mountainous areas and the Quichuas in the south.

All these diversified tribes were later reorganized and confederated by Manco Capac, the first known Inca, and became the Incan empire which eventually

extended through Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, and parts of Argentine and Chile, an area more than 3,600 miles in length by 450 miles in width. Much of this area was not, however, entirely under Incan rule. Many of the wilder tribes of the tropical montaña of the interior were never conquered and never bowed to Incan rule, and many of the Chilean and other races merely paid annual tribute to the empire and were otherwise independent. Under the Incan organization were more than ten million Indians, thus making the Incan tribes the largest and most complete confederation in America, with their capital at Cuzco, and their most sacred and holy city at Pachacamac near the present city of Lima.

But it must not be supposed that the Incas were a race, as many seem to think. The term Inca merely signified a ruler or king. No one tribe was known as Inca, although to-day certain Indians of Bolivia, who claim to be of royal lineage, call themselves Incas.

Primarily and most notably, the Incas were advanced and most successful socialists. Each village or district was devoted to certain arts or industries, men and women were married off and they and their children allotted by law to districts where the population required additions, individual rights were subservient to the commonwealth, and the people were little more than cogs in a stupendous socialistic wheel.

Naturally, under such conditions, the life, industries, attainments, and even the cities of the Incas

varied tremendously. In the agricultural districts the cities were of adobe or dried mud, in the mountains they were of stone, and the costumes, customs, and every detail of Incan life varied according to the people's environment and place in the scheme of things. As a consequence, and as will ever be the result of any attempt to enforce socialism on a community, the Incan empire was torn by rebellions and civil strife which unquestionably would have resulted in the destruction of the confederation even if it had not been destroyed by the Spaniards.

Aside from their power of organization and the conquest of many and widely diversified and often antagonistic tribes, the outstanding marvels of the Incas were their engineering feats. They built immense walls of enormous stones which often weighed many tons and had twenty or more faces, so perfectly cut and fitted together that even to-day a knife blade cannot be inserted between them. They erected suspension bridges across terrific cañons and anchored the stupendous fiber cables to holes cut through solid rock buttresses. They walled up tremendous ravines with gigantic masses of masonry, and they drove huge tunnels through mountains. They constructed a road over two thousand miles in length through the most broken, rugged, and inaccessible portions of the Andes. In many places this was surfaced with asphalt, and portions of the highway are still in use, even by motor cars. Vast masses of stone, huge blocks weighing scores of tons, were quarried, cut, and moved for miles across rivers and over mountains, and whole moun-

tain tops were leveled, hewn into chambers, seats, sculptures, and fortresses.

Yet, as far as is known, the Incas and pre-Incas performed all their amazing feats with crude stone tools. To be sure, they possessed a knowledge of working gold, silver, and bronze. However, no bronze tool has ever been found which would cut even the softest rock, and gold was by no means so abundant or so widely used by the Incas as many stories would lead us to believe. Most of the Incan gold was obtained from subject tribes in the form of tribute, and by far the greater portion of the precious metal went into temple ornaments, religious vessels, regal ornaments, and regalia and ceremonial objects. Judged from the standpoint of gold or other precious metals and gems, the great bulk of the Incan people were poverty-stricken; but of course, among a population of ten millions, the aggregate of gold was tremendous, for vast numbers of the people held official or religious positions and accumulated riches.

In their stone sculptures, aside from engineering, the Incas did not approach the Mayas or Aztecs, but in their ceramics they excelled all prehistoric or historic American races. No pottery can compare with the polychrome ware from about Nasca, and the immense, highly decorated jars or arybals, sometimes four feet in height, are marvels of the potter's art and skill. In wood-carving the Incas also attained a highly artistic development, noticeable especially in the woodwork which is decorated by enamel or lacquer designs which superficially resemble the

finest *cloisonné* work. In textiles they also excelled all other American races, and their wonderfully finely woven, beautifully colored, and artistically designed woolen and cotton fabrics have no equals anywhere and cannot be imitated by any machine.

But despite their high attainments, despite the fact that they had invented scales and balances, had learned to make mirrors of polished marcasite, and had reached the pinnacle of perfection in many civilized industries and arts, yet the Incas never learned to write and never possessed even a hieroglyphic means of recording events. For computing arithmetical sums, they made use of trays divided into numerous compartments, and for sending messages, keeping records, and for many other purposes they employed a complicated and elaborate system of knotted strings or *quipos*.

Unlike the Mayas, Aztecs, and Coclés, who dwelt in a tropical, damp climate and thus left little in the way of remains of perishable objects, the Incas lived in a land whose dry climate is admirably suited to the preservation of vegetal and animal remains. Hence, in their countless mummies, their ruined cities, and their vast burial places, we find a very complete record of Inca and pre-Inca life, customs, habits, dress, and occupations. The feather work, the finest textiles, and the most delicate threads of dyed cotton and wool, and every object are as fresh and bright as when buried hundreds of years ago. The bodies themselves, together with the bodies of dogs, birds, and other creatures are remarkably perfect and lifelike.

Many of these Incan mummies reveal the fact that the Incan surgeons were most skilled, and possessed a knowledge of surgery and anatomy, as well as dentistry, which was far in advance of European surgical knowledge of their time. Innumerable skulls show that trepanning was practiced, very frequently with complete success, as proved by the healed edges of the bone. Amputations were also common, and it is not unusual to find skulls with teeth filled, capped, crowned, and bridged. Whether or not the Incan doctors possessed a knowledge of anæsthetics we cannot say, but as coca was known to them as was the pain-killing effect of cocaine, it is not improbable that this drug was used as it is to-day. But even then, such delicate operations must have been most agonizing, and we can only marvel at an Incan surgeon's successfully cutting away a section of a man's skull by means of stone instruments.

CHAPTER III

MISCONCEPTIONS AND MISTAKEN IDEAS

TO most persons, an Indian is an Indian, and we continually hear the terms "Red Indian," "Redskin," "Redman," etc., applied to members of the American Indian race. But it is a great mistake to think that all Indians are alike, or even similar, and it is an even greater mistake to think that all Indians are red, brown, or even copper colored. The natives of the Bahama Islands, whom the Spaniards were the first to meet, were, it is true, brownish or copper colored, and through the centuries the idea has prevailed that all Indians were the same color. As a matter of fact, Indians vary all the way from almost black to a pale olive, scarcely darker than a brunet white man. As a rule the northern tribes are lighter than the southern tribes; but even in tropical America there are many tribes whose skins are light olive, and whose children and young women might easily pass for white, as far as complexion goes.

I have yet to meet a truly "red" Indian, and I doubt if such exists; but many Indians have the custom of smearing themselves with red ocher or other red pigments, and, even when washed off, the pigment leaves a red stain which the casual observer

might easily mistake for the natural color of the skin. Most Indians are yellow rather than red and the shade varies from a very pale yellowish to a rich ocher brown, the majority of South and Central American Indians being of the latter shade.

But the Andean tribes are as a whole quite light. They live at high altitudes and their cheeks are rosy and their complexions ruddy, giving them a European rather than an Indian appearance. The Mapuches, of Chile, more commonly called Araucanians, are also light, and as these Indians often wear mustaches or beards many of them might be easily mistaken for Europeans. Many of our North American Indians are also light skinned, when clean and not exposed to sun and wind, and many a civilized Indian passes unrecognized as such among the whites.

It is also erroneous to think that Indians do not have beards or that all Indians shave off or pull out any hairs which appear upon their faces. To be sure, some tribes have little beard, or none at all, but others have well developed beards. Some do shave or extract the hairs, but on the other hand, others allow the beard to grow, and many of the men have well developed mustaches and chin whiskers. As a rule the beard is rather thin and Mongolian in character, but I have seen Mapuches and other Indians with heavy full beards.

The same is true of the color of the eyes and hair. Although the majority of North American Indians have brown eyes and coarse, straight, black hair, there are tribes whose eyes are hazel, gray, or even

blue, and whose hair is brown rather than black, and is soft and fine.

Indeed, if we read over all the accounts of the old discoverers and explorers we will find that, even in those days, the men who had actually traveled among the Indians had accurately described these variations. Dampier, the pirate naturalist, Ringrose, Esquemeling, and many others called particular attention to the light skins and brown hair of many tribes and, in several places in their journals, they state that the women are "as fair as any woman of Spain," or that their hair "is exceeding long and soft and of a pleasing brown shade." This proves that the light skins, brown hair, and gray eyes of some Indian tribes are not due to any admixture of Caucasian blood. Neither do these characteristics have any relationship with the albino or so-called "white Indians," who are occasionally seen in nearly every known tribe, but are more numerous in some than in others.

Likewise most erroneous are the popular conceptions of the Indian's physical characters and appearance. He is pictured as a tall, athletic, splendidly built and erect man, dignified, stoical, a man with broad face, square chin, high and prominent cheek bones, aquiline nose, thin lips, and narrow eyes. All of these characters may, it is true, be found among members of certain tribes, but they are by no means typical of all. Indians are not as a rule unusually tall, and as a whole, they average less in stature than white men. Much of the Indian's apparent height is due to the feather headdress. Many

of the Indians of tropical America are almost dwarfs, the men averaging barely five feet in height while the women average a little over four feet.

Nor is the average Indian either a powerfully built or a physically well-proportioned man. In their youth most Indians are rather slender and are sinewy rather than muscular, but as they grow older they are inclined to put on flesh and become very fat with paunches like aldermen's. Many, especially among the plains Indians, have bandy legs; they are usually pigeon-toed, and many tribes habitually stoop and are far from erect. In the case of forest- and mountain-dwelling tribes who walk a great deal, the body and limbs are usually well proportioned, but in the case of river Indians, especially those of tropical America, the chests and shoulders are usually out of all proportion to the lower trunk and limbs, this being due to constant paddling and little walking through countless generations.

The facial characters of the Indians vary as widely as do their other characteristics. Many of our North American tribes, as well as some Central and South American tribes, do have aquiline noses, prominent cheek bones, and the other popularly accepted features of the Indian. But there are as many or more Indians who have low-bridged, rather flat noses, rounded cheeks, fairly thick lips, full eyes, and receding, pointed chins, while among the Andean tribes are many with enormously large, beaklike Semitic noses, commonly known as the "Inca nose," narrow faces, and deep-set eyes.

In other words, there is no distinct Indian type as

far as physical characters or appearance goes. Many might be mistaken for Chinese or Japanese if dressed as such. Others are almost indistinguishable from Malays. Others might well be Hebrews. Some are almost Caucasian in appearance, and many are unmistakably Indian. But it would be just as erroneous and foolish to attempt to form a conception of the typical European, or to picture Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, Italians, Spanish, and Swedish all alike in physical characters, as to consider the American Indian races in that manner.

Moreover, the Indians vary almost if not quite as much in their mental characteristics as in their appearance. By no means all Indians are dignified, stoical, taciturn, lacking in a sense of humor, or sparing of speech. Before strangers most Indians are either shy, suspicious, or embarrassed, and they will often remain silent and unsmiling. But among themselves many of the tribesmen are talkative and full of fun, and chatter and laugh as freely as any one. I have yet to see the Indian who does not possess a sense of humor, and as a rule they dearly love practical jokes. Even the age-old belief that Indian babies never cry is entirely wrong. Indian children are, to be sure, quieter and less given to squalling than white children, but crying babies among many tribes are as numerous and as exasperating as among white families.

Do not think for a moment that an Indian is immune to pain or suffering. An Indian may not show signs of pain or agony, for, through a sort of

self-hypnosis or autosuggestion, he can put himself in a condition of semianæsthesia during which he does not suffer as he would ordinarily. But unless he is prepared for the ordeal and has time to work himself into this state he is as susceptible to pain as any man, and, in case of a sudden or sharp pain, he will often yell or exclaim like any ordinary mortal.

Many a time I have seen an Indian jump up and let out an agonized cry when he sat on a lively hornet; but I have seen the same Indian stand knee-deep in a nest of voracious, biting ants in order to gather the females or honey ants, which are considered a great delicacy, and although his legs were covered with blood from the bites of the vicious creatures he did not even wince and was apparently immune to the pain. In the same way, I have known Indians to pry aching teeth from their mouths, or permit fingers to be amputated, without an anæsthetic and still never groaning, while the same Indians would howl and jump about on one foot if they unexpectedly stepped on a thorn, or if a boulder rolled on a toe.

The fact is that most of our popular ideas of Indians have been derived from stories of our more familiar tribes and from lurid Wild West literature. Thus, when we speak of an Indian dwelling we call it a wigwam or a tepee, and think at once of a conical tent of bark or skins. But the bark wigwam is the home of our eastern and northern tribes (and not all of these at that), while the skin tepee is the home of many of the nomadic plains Indians. But

there are more Indians dwelling in log, wattled, earth, sod, or thatched houses than in wigwams or tepees. Many of our eastern Indians built substantial houses; the "long house" of the Iroquois was of logs and bore no faintest resemblance to a wigwam. The Mandans and other Indians of the West used beehive-shaped or domed houses of sods and earth. Other tribes, such as the Pueblos, erected adobe houses. The Seminoles and other southern tribes used open thatched-roof houses. Throughout tropical America the thatched house, either open at the sides or walled, is predominant, although houses of cane and mud walls are common. Substantial houses of split timbers are used by certain tribes, while in the high Andes the Indians build their huts of stones.

So, too, we usually associate Indians with war whoops and scalps. But many an Indian tribe never heard or uttered a war whoop and would not know what it meant, while countless thousands of Indians never took a scalp and never had any desire to do so. With few exceptions scalping was confined to the North American tribes, and, even among these, the method of scalping, as well as the amount of scalp removed, varied greatly. Scalps are merely trophies and many tribes prefer a trophy in the shape of a dried or shrunken head, such as those prepared by the Jivaros of Peru, the ribs of an enemy, a thigh bone, a skull, a hand, or even an enemy's teeth. Neither did all Indians wear a scalp lock. This was a custom of certain eastern and northern North American tribes, but far more nu-

merous were the tribes who wore their hair as it grew, either braiding it in long plaits, brushing it in an upstanding pompadour, or bobbing it in quite up-to-date fashion.

No doubt it will be quite a surprise to many to learn that the Indian man was not as lazy as popularly supposed and that the woman or squaw did not perform all the labor. Both men and women had their duties and allotted tasks. The man hunted, fished, fought, made his weapons and canoes, and did many other highly important things. And it was not only natural but essential to the safety of the tribe and the family that he should not exhaust his strength by doing things which the women could do as well or better.

Between hunts and battles he rested and conserved his strength while the women cared for the children, tanned skins, made garments, cooked, and performed the other household duties. On the march, the women, among many tribes, looked after the taking down and setting up of the lodges and they carried the burdens; but this was necessary in order to allow the men to protect the travelers from enemies, scout out a route, and secure food, things which they could not have done if encumbered with burdens.

Moreover, in the case of many tribes, the men worked fully as much if not more than the women. They tended the flocks and herds, hewed timbers and cut down trees, cleared land and planted seeds, brought firewood, and even helped about the house.

Among many Central and South American tribes

it is customary for the father to look after the children when at home, and one frequently sees a husky buck seated in his hammock, a tiny tot in his arms, another being jounced up and down on one knee, and others clambering over him.

Among many of these tribes, too, the men spin the cotton twine and thread, although the women make the hammocks and weave the textiles, and the men make their own ornaments of feathers, beads, etc. Neither do the men of these tribes scorn to carry their share of burdens, and, if a woman is tired, they will often add a baby or two to their own loads. As a rule the division of labor between men and women among the Indians is very equitable. I have never seen an Indian woman who seemed to be overworked, and they always appear to have plenty of spare time for gossip and visiting.

Another prevalent but false idea is that all Indians are cruel and treacherous. Broadly speaking I should not say that Indians are cruel. They may —though this is by no means a universal custom— torture their captive enemies, but this, from the Indian standpoint is not cruelty but more or less of an honor. It gives the captive an opportunity to prove his bravery, and many an Indian would feel grossly insulted and much peeved if he knew he would not be tortured if made a prisoner by his enemies.

Neither must we forget that the standards by which we judge cruelty and other matters are not always the standards of other people. What may appear cruel to one man may not seem so to an-

other. The Spaniard regards the bullfight as a legitimate sport, but looks upon football as brutal. We shudder at vivisection but calmly split a living lobster in half or clean a living fish. We shoot a horse with a broken leg to put the creature out of its misery, and we use every effort and every device to prolong the life and the agony of a beloved one whose death we know positively is certain.

Can we then declare in fairness that an Indian is cruel who, knowing a relative or friend is beyond hope, calmly knocks that person over the head? Can we accuse the Indian of being cruel because he does many things which he has been accustomed to doing from time immemorial, and which we denounce as cruel, when, at the same time, the Indian would be shocked at the, to his mind, cruel atrocities which we commit daily?

Moreover, there are many tribes of Indians who are most tender-hearted and would not knowingly cause pain or suffering under any considerations. I have seen Indian men, while hunting, stop and pick up a fledgling and go to great trouble to restore it to its nest. I have seen Indians change the site selected for their camp in order not to disturb a nesting bird or a litter of helpless kittens. I have seen an Indian in need of meat lower his weapons when he saw a fawn accompanying the doe he was about to kill. Many a time, I have watched Indians, after hauling a fish net, carefully gather up the fish they did not need and restore them to the water, whereas a white man under the same conditions would leave them to gasp and die and go to waste.

Many tribes are extremely fond of pets and their houses are filled with birds and quadrupeds, ranging from ocelots to mice and from eagles to manikins, all carefully cared for, and so attached to their Indian masters that they never strayed away, though free to go and come as they chose. Though some tribes kill the aged or infirm members of the tribe, while others cast them adrift in canoes, arguing that if God wants them to live He will preserve them, other tribes are most tender and solicitous and care for the helpless and aged members in every possible way.

Much the same might be said as to Indian treachery. Until the Indian has come into close contact with the white men he is, as a rule, honest. He will keep a promise, and his word—like that of a Chinaman—is as good as his bond. I have known an Indian to travel over five hundred miles through forests, across plains, along rapid-filled rivers, merely to return five dollars to a man who had advanced the money to purchase a hammock which, later on, the Indian could not obtain. In Chile, a banker told me that he would always loan an Indian any amount he desired and would not demand a written promise nor examine the Indian's crops or flocks before giving him the cash; and yet he had never lost a cent.

I have always trusted the Indians among whom I have traveled and lived, and never yet has one broken a promise, failed in his word, tried to betray me, or in any manner been treacherous, although I have been among hostiles who, God knows, have suffered enough through the treachery of white men

to have been forgiven if they repaid a member of the white race in kind.

But when at war, or when he meets an enemy, the Indian feels that it is up to the best man to win, by fair means or foul. Treachery, to his mind, is all part of the game, just as, for that matter, it is in so-called civilized warfare. Like the Chinaman, the Indian will try to get the best of a bargain, though not dishonestly.

I have never found a truly primitive Indian who was a thief. I have dwelt for days, weeks, and months in Indian villages where the houses were open sheds and where all my belongings and trade goods, priceless and coveted beyond words by the Indians, were fully exposed and unprotected. Yet never have I had a single article stolen.

Often the girls and children would take some object, and either wear it or carry it off to show to their friends, but invariably they brought the things back or brought other objects to trade for the articles they had taken. So before we can accuse the Indians of cruelty or treachery we must consider what we really mean by such terms, and must take into consideration lifelong custom and point of view.

Indian psychology varies as greatly as anything else.

Indian music is not by any means always the barbaric discord of tom-toms and rattles which we are prone to imagine. Many tribes possess a keen ear for harmony and key, and have excellent musical instruments. The drum or tom-tom may play an

important part in their dance music, for there is no instrument better adapted for beating rhythm; but when in sentimental mood they will play their flutes, flageolets, Pan's pipes, and other instruments in harmonious, plaintive melodies. The music of the Incan tribes is widely known and their tunes have been copied and embodied in composition by many European composers, and those who think that Indians are not musical should remember that the marimba is strictly an Indian instrument and is best played by Indians.

To sum up: in nearly every character, custom, habit, industry, and art; in costume and religion; in government and family life, even in language, the American Indian varies tremendously according to his tribe. What is true of one tribe may not apply to another inhabiting adjacent territory, and, in many ways, there are greater differences and distinctions between the America Indian races than between the races of Europe.

CHAPTER IV

WHAT WE OWE THE INDIAN AND HOW WE HAVE REPAID HIM

FEW people realize how much we owe the Indian or appreciate the highly important part he has played in our history. As a matter of fact we owe him everything—even our country, which was taken from him by chicanery, theft, force of arms, treachery, and murder. But aside from this, many of the world's most useful, valuable, and essential products and foods are due to the Indian. Maize, white potatoes, buckwheat, pumpkins, squashes, and many of the melons and other fruits; lima and string beans, peanuts, cacao, tapioca, tobacco, sisal and pita hemp; many spices, sarsaparilla, aloes, ipecacuanha, quinine, calisaya, arnica, cocaine, vanilla, annatto, divi-divi, logwood, chicle, gutta-percha, rubber, turkeys, llamas, alpaca, and vicuña—these are only a few of the innumerable things which were unknown to the world prior to the discovery of America, but which had been known and used by the Indians for centuries, and had been cultivated or bred for so long that countless varieties had been developed.

Nearly all of the early settlers and discoverers owed their lives, their success, and their wealth to

the Indians. The Puritans could never have survived their first winter in Massachusetts had it not been for aid given by the friendly Indians. Columbus might never have found gold had it not been for the Indians' help. Pizarro learned of the wealth of the Incas from Indian friends. The settlements of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and many other portions of America were made possible by the Indians. Had it not been for Indian friends who acted as guides, pilots, and hunters, the buccaneers could never have performed their marvelous deeds, the power of Spain would not have been broken, and we might now be living under the Spanish flag. In countless other ways the Indians aided the Europeans.

How were they repaid? By friendship, rewards, recognition and gratitude? Not a bit of it. From the very first they were outrageously cheated, oppressed, tortured, enslaved, robbed, and butchered. Indeed, the aim of the invading Caucasians seemed to be the entire extermination of the race which had done so much for them and whose country they had usurped.

When Columbus stepped ashore upon the Bahamas the peaceful natives welcomed the Spaniards with presents, hospitality, and entertainment, and regarded them as gods or supermen. Wherever the dons touched, the Arowaks and the others did everything possible for the white men and were hospitable and friendly. Only the Caribs were aloof. Those doughty warriors seemed to have had a premonition of what was to follow, and though at first they showed no hostility, they were not so openly friendly

as their more peace-loving neighbors. How did Columbus and his men show their gratitude to the aborigines? By making captives of men and women whom they held as slaves and carried to Spain to exhibit like wild animals. By taking possession of Indian homes, raping the women, degrading the natives with liquor, introducing diseases, forcing them to toil in alien lands as slaves in mines and fields, hunting them down like wild beasts, slaughtering them right and left, and putting them to rack and torture to force them to become Christians or to divulge the location of gold and riches. The dons did not confine their murderous, brutal tactics to warfare or to hostile tribes. Often an Indian butchery was staged to make a holiday, and Indians were killed to supply meat for the Spaniards' dogs. On one occasion, Columbus summoned hundreds of Indians to a feast in Santo Domingo, and when the Indians, who partly from fear of disobeying and partly through believing the Spaniards' words, had gathered at the appointed spot, what happened? With the Indians surrounded, defenseless, and unable to escape, the dons turned loose their gaunt, half-starved, savage hounds, and Columbus and his men watched and applauded as the brutes fell upon the shrieking, terrified men and women, and, tearing them to pieces, glutted themselves upon the reeking bodies.

Within a dozen years from the landing of Columbus not an Indian was left alive in the Bahamas; within a score of years after the discovery of Santo Domingo every Indian had been enslaved, deported,

or killed. And the same was true wherever the Spaniards went. To them, an Indian was no more than a wild beast. It mattered nothing whether the Indians were friendly or not. They were ruthlessly destroyed at every turn. For mere sport they tore Indians limb from limb, flayed them alive, lopped off hands, feet, ears, or noses, and gouged out eyes. They wantonly destroyed the culture and civilization of the Incas, the Mayas, and the Aztecs and they left a trail of blood and suffering wherever they went.

We cannot gloss this over by claiming the Spaniards were noted for lust, cruelty, and treachery. The French, Dutch, and English did the same or worse, and the mistreatment of the Indians continues to the present day.

I do not know of a single authentic case where the Indians were the aggressors or struck the first blow, at least where the Indians met the whites for the first time. Very often the Indians were most patient, forgiving, and long-suffering and endured every affront, every treachery, and every oppression for years before they rose and strove, too late, to assert themselves and their rights.

The Pilgrims, landing at Plymouth, were only too glad to accept the Indians' help until they found themselves firmly established and self-supporting. Then they commenced robbing their former friends and killing them off if they protested. Treaties made in good faith were broken right and left.

From Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and southward to Tierra del Fuego, the white men taught the Indians that no treaty was sacred, no promise se-

cure, no friendship a protection, and that might meant right. When war broke out between French and British, or between Colonials and British, both sides hired Indian warriors to prey upon their fellow Europeans and paid the Indians so much per scalp for men, women, and children of their fellow whites.

The Indians were not slow to learn. Realizing that they might expect no consideration at the hands of the newcomers, convinced at last that the white man's promise meant nothing and that the Indian had no rights, and reasoning that if white men fought one another and took scalps there was no reason why they should not fight the white men also, the Indians strove to assert themselves and check the palefaces' advance. But their cause was hopeless from the first. Intertribal warfare and feuds always existed among the Indians, they could not form a lasting and unified force, and though they won many victories and destroyed many settlements the white men with superior arms always won in the end. Still the Indians kept on. They were bound to be killed or driven from homes anyway, and they might as well die fighting as be killed like dumb cattle.

Quite naturally, when the newcomers from Europe spread farther west, they found hostile tribes who, without hesitation, fell upon the strangers tooth and nail. To these tribesmen had come word of what to expect. Refugees from the east had brought tidings of the white men's ways. Couriers had reached them asking their aid, and, for years,

the nomadic tribes of the west had been taught by bitter experience with the Spaniards from Mexico that the only good white man was a dead white man. In the far west, however, many tribes proved friendly and never raised a hand against the whites. But they received no more consideration for their attitude than if they had been the most implacable of hostiles.

Even when the colonists declared their independence and framed our constitution with its "all men free and equal," did the newborn United States right the Indians' wrongs, protect them, or consider them either free or equal? No. Our government drove them from their lands and homes, deported them, and forced them to live upon reservations in a new and alien territory.

Even then they were not allowed to live in peace. If white men cast covetous eyes upon the Indians' lands the Indians were again herded together and driven like cattle to still more desolate, hopeless, and worthless lands. And when irrigation made these deserts possible of cultivation, when oil was discovered, the Indians were again the ones to "move on." If they protested against leaving the homes and farms they had established through industry and toil they were harried, imprisoned, or shot as malcontents.

When the peaceful Nez Perces, seeking only freedom, attempted to leave the United States and find refuge in Canada they were chased by our cavalry, attacked, shot down, and forced as prisoners to return to the reservation our government had seen fit

to allot to them. And yet the Nez Perces, under Chief Joseph, had committed no hostile act. On their long march they had molested no whites, had destroyed no property, had not taken a scalp.

From first to last, it has been considered no crime for a white man to rob or murder an Indian. Within the past few years many of the Osage tribe have been ruthlessly killed by whites in order to secure possession of the Indians' oil lands. Not content with killing an Indian or an entire family one at a time, an Indian's house was dynamited and the whole family destroyed while asleep. And up to the present no one has been convicted of these crimes, and the chances are no one ever will be.

If our reservations had been honestly and fairly conducted and administered it would not have been so bad. But from the first, the Indian reservations have been national scandals. Graft, corruption, dishonesty, selfishness, and mistreatment of the Indians have gone on unchecked, and, when too obvious, have been whitewashed. In addition, innumerable interfering individuals—reformists, blue-law advocates, sanctimonious busybodies, and plain everyday fools—have had their fingers in the Indian pie. The Indians' age-old customs, ancestral beliefs, and sacred ceremonies have been censored, forbidden, and interfered with until the Indian cannot call his soul his own.

No race in the world has ever been subjected to such oppressions, such treachery, such inconsideration as the American Indian. It is little wonder that under such treatment he has become listless,

hopeless, depraved, dishonest, and suspicious. Yet, despite all, the Indians, as a whole, have held their own, have retained their characteristics, their folklore and traditions, their dialects and customs.

Many have become industrious, prosperous, hard-working farmers and cattlemen, and many have become millionaires. By some strange whim of fate our efforts to herd the Indians on the most worthless areas of our land have redounded to the Indians' benefit as far as wealth is concerned. And many of the Indians have reached high attainments. Many are college graduates. Many have held high public offices, and many have shown that in intelligence, ability, and every other way the Indian is the equal of the Caucasian.

Despite the way in which they have been treated, although they might, with every reason, hate and detest the whites, yet when the time came and the United States was drawn into the great European war, the Indians responded nobly to the call to arms. No fighters in all the armies of the world showed greater courage, greater endurance, or greater patriotism. At the close of the conflict, they returned, wounded, maimed, perhaps bearing medals and orders won by heroic deeds on the battlefields of France, to again become reservation Indians, to be forgotten by the government they had served, to be fleeced, coerced, and at the whim or covetousness of the whites, to be driven from pillar to post as before.

The lot of the South American Indian has been hardly better. Judging by the early history of Spanish America one might reasonably think it would

have been far worse. But during their wars of independence the Latin Americans found the Indians most useful allies, and, moreover, the Spanish race mingled and mixed freely with the aborigines. As a result, most of the inhabitants of Latin America, most of its most wealthy and prominent men, have more or less Indian blood in their veins, and the Indian, through consanguinity, holds a better position in Latin America than in the United States.

Many of the Central and South American tribes have never been conquered or brought under subjection. Many of these, though still maintaining their racial and tribal independence, are friendly and peaceful, while others are and always have been hostile, and still others, though not openly hostile, allow no white men in their territory and zealously protect their lands from white encroachment. Though the old Dons had an easy conquest in many places, though they did their level best—or worst—to destroy all the Indians, yet they found, before they got through, that the dense jungles of tropical America, the inaccessible mountains, and fever-ridden equatorial swamps were all allies of the Indians and that trying to conquer or destroy the natives was a hopeless task not worth the cost in human lives and riches. Hence, in South America, we find innumerable tribes and countless thousands of Indians still living their primitive lives unmolested and in no immediate danger of suffering at the hands of the so-called "superior" race.

Moreover, in many South American countries the Indians far outnumber the whites or mixed races.

In Bolivia fully 90 per cent of the population is Indian; in Peru the only labor is Indian; and in either of these republics, should the Indian strike *en masse,* not a wheel would turn, not an industry continue, for, from street-sweepers and house servants to expert artisans, every worker is an Indian.

Nevertheless, the South American Indian has abundant cause for complaint. As in North America, treaties and promises have been broken, the right of citizenship, supposedly granted, is in reality denied. The pure-blooded Indian has no chance when it comes to a question of white or red. He is miserably fed, miserably housed, paid a mere pittance for his labor. He is exploited by any one and every one, is abused, kicked about, regarded with contempt. Nothing he has is sacred from any white man or mestizo who comes along. In Peru, for example, any passing traveler who wishes to do so may throw the Indian from his home, take possession of the house and contents, together with the Indian's wife and daughters, and kick and beat the Indian and his family into submission.

Though in Peru the bulk of the Indians are Quichuas, quiet, retiring, subservient beings who, ground into mere cogs in a wheel under the Incas, enslaved and debased by the Spaniards, do not dare to call their souls their own, in Chile we find the Indians are far better off and of quite a different type. Here, in southern Chile, are the Araucanians, so-called, powerful, proud, independent, intelligent, industrious, prosperous, and numbering many thousands. Never have they been conquered, never have

they bowed themselves under the yoke of an alien race. Although living on good terms with the whites and at peace with all the world, yet they know their rights and stand up for them. Many of their men are graduates of great universities in Europe and America, but all retain their tribal pride, customs, and life.

It would be a sad day for Chile if her government attempted to mistreat or coerce these tribesmen. A few years ago, while in southern Chile and among the Mapuches, I witnessed a demonstration of the Indians' method of dealing with the Chileans. For a long time the whites had been, little by little, encroaching on the Mapuches' rights. It culminated in the Chilean police's arresting some Indians for an alleged crime against another Indian, a matter, which, under the treaties, should have been left entirely to the caciques and tribal justice.

Dressed in all their old-time regalia, mounted on their tough, fleet horses, bearing their twenty-foot lances, their bolas, and their clubs, the tribesmen, together with their families, gathered in a huge council with all the old-time ceremonies. Among the chiefs and leading men were college graduates, and at the close of the council, a petition stating their complaints and demanding redress from the government was signed by 18,000 Indians. No threat was made and none was needed; but a grim hint was included in the document by the statement that if necessity arose 250,000 fighting men could be put in the field! Very promptly the Chilean government replied, and within twenty-four hours a note was on

its way to the Mapuches, acknowledging the justice of the complaints and promising to accede to the Indians' demands.

In other portions of South America the fate of the Indian has been as pitiable as in North America. He has been exploited, forced to labor like a slave, treated like a dog, and unspeakably abused. In the rubber districts of the upper Amazon and Putamayo, British companies committed atrocities as revolting and inhuman as it is possible to conceive. If an Indian failed to produce his or her allotted quantity of rubber, hands, ears or other portions of the Indians' anatomy were chopped off. When at last exposure came the world stood aghast.

Though the South American tribes have been long-suffering, though in the past they have been subjected to every brutality and inhumanity, they are at last asserting themselves and intend to enforce their rights. Led by a lineal descendant of the Incas, by a man who is a college graduate and a brilliant lawyer and who has served as a colonel in his government's army, the Indians have secretly and quietly formed a tremendous confederation which includes practically every South American tribe and whose numbers (so the leader informed me in a letter I now have before me) total twenty millions.

With this tremendous power and extent the confederation hopes to force the various governments to fulfill their obligations to the Indians, to keep to their treaties and right the existing wrongs—"by peaceful means if possible," to quote from the letter, "but by force of arms if necessary." Undoubtedly,

if the confederated tribes will hold together, the object may be accomplished; but the greatest failure of the Indian, the one paramount cause which has prevented the aborigines from maintaining their rights and their status, is the centuries-old enmity between tribes, and when it comes to the pinch, I greatly fear that intertribal feuds and jealousies will utterly destroy the power of this Indian confederation.

Now let us turn to a brighter side of the white-Indian question. In British Guiana no conflict or friction between Europeans and Indians has ever occurred. From the times of Sir Walter Raleigh until to-day the whites and the Indians of Guiana have ever been on the friendliest of terms. There have been no oppression, no mistreatment, no violation of treaties on the parts of the Europeans, either Dutch or British.

This is not because the Guiana Indians are any more peaceful, friendly, timid or submissive than other tribes. On the contrary, the Carib races, which predominate, have ever been noted for their warlike tendencies, their prowess, their courage, and their cannibal propensities. And it is not because the Indians are in the minority or are easily reached. Fully half a hundred tribes inhabit Guiana, they are inaccessibly hidden in dense jungles and high mountains, and they far outnumber and always have outnumbered Europeans. Moreover, with few exceptions, they possess and use the most deadly and silent of weapons, the terrible blowgun with its wurali-poisoned darts which kill almost instantly and with

which enemies may be picked off by unseen, unsuspected Indians concealed in the jungles or the trees.

Why then, we may well ask, have the Caucasians and the Indians lived so amicably in Guiana? Merely because the policy of the original Dutch settlers was to form and retain friendly relations with the aborigines. Because they realized that they could not hope to retain their settlements and develop the land if the country was full of hostile tribesmen. Because the British, who acquired the land from the Dutch, agreed to fulfill the Dutch treaties, and because the British have kept faith with the Indians. It stands, I believe, as the only country where such conditions have existed, unique among all the lands of the New World as a spot where Europeans and Indians have never been at war and where, with a few isolated exceptions due to irresponsible individuals, no mistreatment of the Indians has ever occurred.

In its paternal and just attitude towards its Indian wards the Guiana government should set us a worth-while example. Instead of driving the Indians from their homes and herding them on reservations, the Guiana government allots the Indians' lands to them in perpetuity. An official, known as the "Protector of Indians," together with his assistants, has nothing to do but attend to the Indians' interests and actually "protect" them. A heavy penalty is imposed on any one caught selling or giving liquor to an Indian. No one can employ an Indian without the Protector's permission, and even when he has satisfied the official that he is a fit person to employ

an Indian he must file a bond to protect the Indian against loss of wages or mistreatment. No interference with Indian customs, rites, ceremonies, or life is permitted as long as such things do not interfere with or molest the white inhabitants. No one is allowed to seize, use, or exploit Indian lands. No one is permitted to barter or trade with the Indians without permission, and the prices of forest products, the wages of Indians, the rations they must be given when employed are all fixed by law and are *enforced.*

Moreover, an Indian has the right to free passage on any public conveyance, such as steamboats or railways, in the colony. He can cut timber, cultivate the ground, gather rubber or gums, hunt, fish, or live wherever and whenever he chooses. He is free from all taxes, royalties, dues, and does not even have to pay a license for a gun as do all other inhabitants of the country.

In short, the Indian is considered first in everything. The government takes the attitude that the Indian is the true owner of the land, that his freedom and his rights to his country's products and resources are unalienable, and that it is the Indian and not the white or black man who needs protection and should be shown every possible consideration and favor.

To find such conditions existing, to find such a clean page among the many dark and blood-stained pages of the Indian's story, is a relief and a delight. And it goes far to prove that all the warfare, the agonies, the cruelties, and atrocities which have

formed a disgraceful blot on American history might have been easily avoided. It proves that even where there were savage, cannibal, and warlike tribes, the Indians were ready and willing to be friendly with the Europeans; that they were ready and willing to retain that friendship; that they could and would abide by their treaties and promises; and that had the white men not been the first to cause trouble, had they not been the aggressors, most if not all of our long, bloody, and costly Indian wars might have been avoided.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

WHEN we think of an Indian's religion we usually think of the Great Spirit and happy hunting grounds. While certain Indian tribes, notably those of our eastern states, believed in a supreme being and an Indian paradise which from their point of view could best be described as a happy hunting ground, yet these beliefs were by no means universal and were not typical of all Indian religions.

Many tribes, both in North and South America, believed in numerous gods or deities with innumerable lesser good spirits and devils or evil spirits. Others worshiped living or dead human beings whom they regarded as gods or saviors. Others worshiped the sun and other planets. Still others looked upon certain mountains, rivers, lakes, or trees as the sacred abiding places of their gods and worshiped them as such. And some tribes had no conception of true deities or a true religion.

In the same way the Indians' ideas of a hereafter or a future life varied tremendously with the various tribes. Some believed in the happy-hunting-ground idea. Others thought that the spirits of the dead roamed the earth and helped the relatives and friends of their living days. Others believed in re-

incarnation. Still others thought human spirits entered animals, and hence held certain creatures sacred. Others looked upon various inanimate objects as the abodes of human souls, and some had no conception of an after life.

So varied, so innumerable are the various religious beliefs of the Indians that an entire volume might be written on this one subject, and it would be impossible even to mention them all in a book of the present size and scope. But certain religious beliefs and convictions, which are typical, will be of interest and will serve to illustrate the fact that the Great Spirit and happy hunting grounds are not the fundamental tenets of American Indian religions.

As a rule, the Indian believes in one all powerful or supreme and wholly kindly and beneficent deity or spirit. Often he is thought to reside in the sky, the sun, or in some lofty and inaccessible mountain or some mysterious lake. Often, too, he is believed to possess a wife and family, and, among several Central American tribes, the sun is regarded as the chief deity's home, the moon as the wife's home, and the stars and the planets as the homes of the deities' progeny.

These Indians point out that the planets "move," and argue that in that way the god and goddess watch over all races. During the day the moon and stars come to earth and wander about among the people, while the sun descends to earth during the night. As they can actually see the sun rise from the earth in the morning and descend at night, and the moon reverse the process, they have very good

reasons for their belief. But, as is so often the case, they do not seem to have a very clear idea as to the distinction between their god and goddess's abodes and the deities themselves. I have often heard the medicine men discussing this and trying to explain the distinctions.

One very old medicine chief assured me that the sun and moon always remained in the heavens but were only luminous when tenanted by the spirits. Also, he called my attention to the fact that whereas the sun was never in the sky at night the moon was often visible during the day. This, he explained, was because the sun's wife must be with her lord sometimes, and he assured me that the bright star seen close to the moon was a new god who had just been born of the celestial union. The old fellow could not be stumped on any question. When asked why the moon was sometimes full, sometimes a half moon, and sometimes a crescent, and how he accounted for solar and lunar eclipses, he was ready with the answers. Women, he said, were always shy and that when approaching her master during the day the moon coquettishly turned her face away. The half moon, he declared, was when the moon goddess was sleeping, while eclipses were when the god and goddess hid their faces to remind the Indians of the terrible darkness which would result should their god and goddess be displeased and desert them.

To other tribes, the sun, moon, and stars are the spirits of men and gods who once dwelt upon the earth. Some Guiana tribes have a legend of a terrific battle which took place on earth between Tumin-

kor, the Indian god, and a powerful evil spirit. During the battle the god was killed but his spirit pursued the evil one to the sky and still remains there, in the form of Orion, chasing his enemy and firing arrows which are visible as shooting stars.

On the other hand, some tribes, as the Tegualas of Panama, believe that the chief deity inhabits the rivers. Undoubtedly in all cases where the Indians believe the sun, the mountains, or the rivers to be the abode of their greatest benevolent spirit, such a belief has come about through the importance of sunshine, rain, or water, which are necessities of life. And where we find so-called fire-worshipers, who do not actually worship the fire but hold it sacred as the abode of some powerful deity, we may be quite sure that it is because fire is one of man's essentials. Moreover, there is a close connection between fire and the sun. Both give heat and light, and, very often, Indians regard both as sacred and the abode of spirits, and combine sun and fire worship.

In much the same way, mountains and rivers are closely linked. In many places the mountains are ever surrounded with vapor and drenched with rain, which, running down, forms the rivers, and hence many tribes hold both sacred. The tribes of the interior of Guiana regard Mount Roraima as a sacred spot and the abode of the god of rains, and, in their own dialects, call the mountain "The Mother of Water."

Still other tribes who depend upon the sea for their livelihood feel just as certain that their deity dwells in the sea for, in nearly every case, man,

whether primitive or civilized, conceives his gods as the beings to whom he owes the most and imagines their abiding place as the spot whence come man's most important benefits. Even our own ideas of God and a celestial heaven were originally derived from such a course of reasoning, for, from the sky above comes the life-giving rain and sunshine sent down to man by a beneficent deity who must therefore abide in the heavens.

In their beliefs in a hereafter the Indians vary as widely as in their ideas of gods and spirits. A tribe which depends upon the chase would naturally picture an Indian heaven as a spot abounding with game or a happy hunting ground, whereas an agricultural tribe might believe in a heaven of abundant crops, and a fishing tribe would think that paradise would be a spot where there were unlimited fish. And just as some Christians believe in the literal heaven and hell, some in reincarnation, and still others in other conditions of an after life, so the American Indians have innumerable conceptions of the fate of the human spirit after death. In the majority of cases, no matter what the belief in the future of the soul may be, the Indians are spiritualists and are convinced that the wraiths of the dead visit the earth and their old friends and tribesmen and, under certain conditions, communicate with the living.

As a rule, Indians regard the spirits of the dead as being far more material than are our conceptions of them. Like the old Egyptians, the Indians believe that the soul released from the body will feel lost

and will actually suffer if not provided with the sustenance, the utensils, the clothing, and all the other appurtenances of life. Hence, with few exceptions, the dead Indian when buried, cremated, or otherwise disposed of, is surrounded with his weapons, ornaments, garments, and utensils, together with food and drink. In the case of some tribes these are the genuine objects which actually belonged to and were used by the deceased. But in other cases miniature replicas of the real objects are used for burial purposes, just as the Egyptians interred models of vessels, houses, cattle, and other objects with their dead. Often the utensils accompanying the body were broken or "killed" in order to prevent evil spirits from taking possession of them, and also as a form of sacrifice. In still other cases the dead were buried with their own possessions intact, and other objects—pottery, weapons, stone tools and artifacts, together with specially made ceremonial dishes—were "killed" or sacrificed upon the grave.

The forms of burial were as widely diverse as the forms and tenets of religion or the beliefs in a hereafter. Some tribes interred their dead in the earth. Others placed them on platforms raised above the earth or in trees. Others placed them in burial caves, others in mounds. Some tribes built elaborate tombs. Others interred the bodies in the houses of the deceased. Some destroyed body and house together by burning them. And some buried their dead in their tribal refuse heaps.

Among many tribes secondary burials or disposal of the bodies was customary. In some cases the

body was cremated and the ashes either scattered to the winds, cast into a river or the sea, or carefully interred in a pot. Other tribes buried the body and later disinterred it, cleaned the bones, and either preserved these or reinterred them. In the case of one Brazilian tribe, the body was buried and a few days later was dug up and the flesh devoured by relatives and friends after which the bones were placed in an urn and buried with great ceremony.

A common custom was to boil the body and bury the cleansed skeleton. Other tribes placed the body in a huge urn and set this in a shallow grave lined with clay. A roaring fire was then built about the urn, thus cremating the body and baking the walls of the grave to form a rude tomb. As the fire burned, the people wailed, danced, and made sacrifices, throwing their most valued possessions into the flames until the fire was extinguished and the grave filled by the broken pottery, the stone implements, the carved images, and the ornaments and utensils sacrificed by the tribesmen.

Funeral ceremonies and expressions of mourning also vary greatly. Among some tribes the widow's hair is cut; she wails and laments and fasts and offers prayers. Among other tribes mourners are numerous and make day and night hideous with their lamentations. Other tribes think that the dead Indian is better off, and consider a death a cause for merrymaking and celebrate it with dances, feasts, and music. Some tribes seek to ease the departing spirit on its way by playing barbaric and plaintive music on reed flutes and pipes, while others wail and

weep and scream while a person is dying. Perhaps in both cases, the noise is intended to frighten off evil spirits rather than anything else, and most certainly it would require a most persistent devil to withstand the noises issuing from the death chamber where these practices are in vogue.

Many Indians, too, believe that ill luck and misfortune will follow if they continue to reside in a village where a person has died and, after the body is buried, the village and its fields are deserted forever. But there are just as many tribes who continue to live in the village or even the house where a death has occurred and the deceased has been buried.

Among the Caribs a sort of combination of these two extremes is the custom. When a member of the tribe dies, the body is interred either in the house of the deceased or in a grave near by. The village is then deserted for a period of a month after which the inhabitants return, hold a grand celebration with dances, *paiwarrie* drinking, and ceremonials. The following day they leave the village forever. The Caribs believe that for the first month the spirit wanders about the neighborhood of the grave and that many evil spirits are also abroad and hence it is not wise to remain near the spot. But at the termination of this period they believe it necessary to return and hold a feast in order to drive off any lingering devils and to let the spirit of their dead tribesmen know that they have not forgotten him. After that they think the fields and village should be left for the use of the spirit.

Indians, as a rule, do not regard death as a great calamity or sorrow, and it is largely owing to this attitude that Indians do not fear death in battles, or other dangerous undertakings. Among many tribes there is no sorrow shown, even the wife or wives of a dead man or the husband of a dead woman, as well as the children, exhibiting no signs of grief, but going about their accustomed work as usual.

On the other hand, the sacrifice of a man's wife or wives was often customary, as the Indians believed his spirit would need theirs to accompany him in after life. I do not know of any tribe where it was customary to sacrifice a man if his mate died, but possibly the Indians felt that there was a scarcity of females in the Indian paradise and that a spiritual husband could be easily found.

Ceremonies in memory of the dead differ greatly among the tribes both in North and South America. Many tribes have no idea of mourning as we know it, and bury all memories of the deceased with his body, while other tribes show their mourning in various ways and sometimes keep it up for years. Often it is customary for friends and relatives frequently to place fresh food, drink, and other necessities upon or near the grave in order that the spirit may not want. This is sometimes done for months or even years after the death.

There are also tribes who keep alive the memory of the departed in rather gruesome ways. Sometimes the hair of the corpse is shorn off and preserved, and is fashioned into ornaments which are worn at ceremonials. Bones, hands, and even heads

are preserved by several tribes. Some Central American tribes have a most curious custom of keeping memory fresh and also giving publicity to the state of the widow. This consists of cleaning the bones of the dead man and suspending them in a net or basket beside the entrance to the widow's home where they must remain and must be carefully cared for by the widow until the allotted period of mourning has passed. Then she buries them for good and all and is eligible for a second marriage.

Although mummies of various tribes are well-known yet, as far as I am aware, no American Indian tribe ever prepared or mummified the dead purposely. In cases where the bodies were placed in dry burial caves, especially in districts where humidity and rain are almost unknown, the bodies dried and in time became mummylike. In Peru and other portions of the west coast of South America the bodies interred in the dry sand which usually contains some nitrates and where it never rains were often almost perfectly preserved by chemical action of the salts and desiccation.

The Incan and pre-Incan tribes wrapped or bound the bodies of the dead in cloth, cotton, etc., so that they more nearly resemble true mummies than other dried bodies. When first disinterred and unwrapped, these Incan mummies have much the appearance of recently buried corpses. The hair is intact, the skin is a quite natural yellowish brown, and even the tattooing on faces and limbs is clear. But upon exposure to the air and the elements, the skin, dried flesh, and hair soon go to pieces and leave

only the skeleton. When excavating the graves containing these ancient mummies it is difficult to believe that they are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years old, and the same is true of the dried or mummified bodies, some of which are startlingly life-like, which are found in our western caves and cliff dwellings.

In many ways, Indian religions and burial customs are almost inextricably mixed with superstitions, which is not surprising, for even the most civilized people, of all races and creeds, have much of a purely superstitious character included in their religions and burial customs. Indeed, our own Christian religion contains no little superstition, while many if not most of our marriage and funeral customs are based on superstition, even if we do not realize it.

Thus it has often been said that Indians worship idols and we frequently hear and use the term "idol" when referring to the carved, painted, or sculptured images which are almost universal among the American Indian tribes. But as a matter of fact, and literally speaking, I do not know of a single Indian tribe which is truly idolatrous. As a rule, the so-called idols of the Indians are merely symbolic and are designed to represent deities or spirits in concrete form. Some of the Indians believe that deities and friendly spirits are invisible but are capable of entering and taking possession of their material likenesses, and hence, by making images of the spirits as they are imagined, the Indians regard the "idols" as sacred and tenanted by the deities.

But it is the spirit within and not the handiwork of man that is worshiped.

In other cases the image is merely a visible reminder or material representation of a god or spirit, and offerings and prayers bestowed upon it are made to the spirit and not to the image. In fact, they occupy the same place in the Indians' religion as do crosses, sacred pictures, and images of Christ and the saints in the Christian religion. It is just as erroneous to speak of Indians' worshiping their effigies as it would be to speak of Christians' worshiping the cross or a statue or picture of Jesus.

In a great many instances, also, the effigies used by the Indians are either fetishes or proxies and have no part in their religion. A proxy is a most useful object in many cases, and, among some tribes, such for example as the "San Blas" tribes of Panama, the use of such wooden or terra-cotta images is almost universal. A medicine man, after attending to a sick tribesman to the best of his knowledge and ability, will, upon leaving, place a little wooden figure in the patient's hammock or near him. This figure thereby takes the doctor's place and keeps watch over the sick person and by its presence prevents the approach of evil spirits which might otherwise enter the patient's body. If the sick person does not improve, the medicine man will leave another proxy, and often, in cases of serious illness, an Indian will be seen surrounded by several dozens of these little proxies.

So, too, if a family is going on a journey and leaving the house vacant, or if for any reason visitors

are not desired, a roughly carved human figure is placed at the entrance to the house or on the path leading to it. This figure represents the owner and is supposed to keep off trespassers, for the Indian believes that any effigy or picture is possessed by the spirit of the person or animal it represents. Thus an Indian who leaves a proxy to guard his home feels convinced that, should any one enter, he will be aware of the fact through that portion of his spirit within the proxy.

Very often such wooden images are seen in fields, gardens and granaries where they are supposed to act as proxies in guarding the crops from predatory animals and birds. In many houses, similar images may be seen fastened to rafters or posts. These are often mistaken for "gods" or idols by persons unfamiliar with the Indians' beliefs, but, as a matter of fact, they are merely proxies for good spirits.

None of these proxy images are ever worshiped and they are not looked upon as sacred. Should a proxy prove inefficient, should a trespasser or a thief disregard the proxy, the Indian does not hesitate to chop the image to bits or mutilate it and replace it with another.

Once, when among the Kuna Indians of Darien, I witnessed a most striking example of this. A very large and fine wooden image was on guard in the village granary. I was very anxious to add the effigy to my collections but realized that it was quite out of the question. As I climbed up beside the image I discovered that a woodpecker had made its nest in the back of the figure's head. When I called the

Indians' attention to this, the effigy was instantly pulled down, its nose chopped off, and a new image erected to take its place, for quite naturally the Kunas felt that a granary guard who would permit a thieving woodpecker to nest in his head was most inefficient. However, the fate of the unfortunate proxy was most fortunate for me, and the discarded image, together with his severed nose, was promptly added to my collection.

This custom of using proxies is common to many tribes in all parts of America, but it appears to have reached its highest development in Central America where, among the Guaymis, it is carried to extremes and forms one of the most remarkable and interesting features of their religious or sacred ceremonials. When a ceremonial is to be held, numbers of small terra-cotta figures are prepared. These include human likenesses, birds, animals, insects, and other creatures, as well as representations of the various deities and good spirits as the Indians imagine them. According to the Guaymis' belief, the spirits of the various beings and creatures, who cannot of course be present in bodily form, will enter the miniature likenesses, while the spirits of Indians who, through illness or other causes, cannot take part in the ceremony, will take possession of the human figures made to represent the absentees.

These images are placed in the ceremonial house and are surrounded by miniature utensils and dishes, and, during the ceremonial, they are regarded with the same respect and honor as if their living counterparts were present in the flesh. To-

wards the close of the ceremony the Indians dance about the little figures and from time to time an Indian will shout the name of some person, bird, animal, or deity represented by the effigies. Then, seizing a handful of the food spread upon the altar table, he will swallow a portion himself and toss the remainder into the ceremonial fire. As he does so the dance chief or master of ceremonies will seize the image whose name has been called, and, breaking it and its accompanying utensils to bits, will throw the fragments into the flames.

This continues until the last image has been destroyed. The idea is that in this manner the spirits occupying the figures will be released and permitted to return to their proper and everyday form, while by breaking and burning the images evil spirits are prevented from taking possession of them and thus finding their way to the persons or animals the effigies represent. Here, therefore, we find a complicated and elaborate system of proxies partially combined with religion. Not only do the clay figures serve as proxies for living beings and deities but, in return, the Indians act as proxies for the proxies by partaking of the sacred feast and naming themselves, temporarily, after the images.

Aside from all these various kinds of images, which are so often referred to as idols, there are also fetish or charm figures. These vary in character and material with different tribes. They may be natural formations, such as stones, knots or branches of wood, bones, or other objects which, to the Indian's imagination, resemble certain animals or hu-

man beings. They may be of cloth, skin, or other material and doll-like in appearance. They may be elaborately carved, decorated, beaded, or painted. They may be worn upon the person, used like ornaments, or carefully concealed. Although such fetishes are usually in the form of a human being or some animal or bird, they may be so conventionalized as to be almost unrecognizable. But, in every case, they are merely charms and have no religious or sacred significance. In fact they are the Indians' counterparts of the rabbit's foot, the lucky coin, or the lucky bean carried with more or less faith, by civilized men, and are supposed to bring good luck, good fortune, or success to the owner or to protect him from harm or evil.

But whether the Indian uses a charm, a proxy, or the handmade representation of his deity, it is always obvious that he gives his spirits little credit for intelligence and thinks it an easy matter to hoodwink them. Many of his images are woefully crude, and how he expects to fool a spirit into thinking them worthy abodes or how any self-respecting spirit could recognize them for what they were intended, is a mystery. Like most primitive and many civilized persons, the Indian, as a rule, aims to placate and propitiate the evil spirits and does not bother much with the good spirits. His attitude is that the good spirit cannot and will not harm him, whereas the evil spirit is forever watching out for an opportunity to wreak some mischief. Hence, he argues that he must constantly mollify the evil spirits, and he makes promises and offerings to

them. But he regards them, despite their evil powers, as very stupid and is always trying to fool them by using fetishes, proxies, etc., which he thinks they will mistake for the beings or spirits they represent, by making offerings of artificial or worthless objects, and by making promises which he has no intention of fulfilling.

Regardless of the particular form of his religion or beliefs, the Indian, before he has been Christianized, civilized, or brought into contact with the white race, is, in most cases, a clean living, truthful, and, according to his code, an honest and moral being. But as soon as he comes in touch with our civilization, as soon as his ancient beliefs are shaken by the teachings of Christianity, the Indian, with few exceptions, becomes a rather shiftless, dirty, worthless fellow. He dons all the white man's vices and few if any of his virtues when he dons the white man's shirt or trousers. As a learned and observant missionary once confessed to me, "You cannot Christianize an Indian without civilizing him, and you cannot civilize him without ruining him."

We cannot blame the Indian. The white men he first meets are, as a rule, of the roughest, most blasphemous and ungodly sort. They are lumbermen, miners, prospectors, or outlaws who possess every vice and are proud of it. Quite naturally the Indian copies their ways, and, being untrammeled by conventions which to a certain extent control even the worst of civilized men, he goes his teachers one better.

Of course there are exceptions. Individuals

among the Indians choose the virtues rather than the vices of the white race for examples, and prove themselves equal in every way to Caucasians. Some tribes, moreover, have been Christianized and civilized for so long that, outwardly, they have completely lost their racial beliefs and religions and are as law-abiding, progressive, and industrious as any white community.

But I have yet to meet the Indian who, in his heart and beneath the surface, is not thoroughly Indian. To my mind, this is a most worthy characteristic, for why should the Indian not be as proud of his race, as firm in his beliefs, as fond of his ancient tribal customs as the white man is of his? When all is said and done, the untamed, uncontaminated, primitive Indian is, fundamentally, a better Christian than most of those who would force our religion upon him.

All too often, the Indian, like other men and women, accepts or pretends to accept Christianity and civilization for what he can get out of it. Centuries of oppression, of persecution, of slavery, torture, and death at the hands of "Christians" has taught him that it is safer and easier to adopt the white man's beliefs and customs than to resist them. And he has discovered also that, as a Christian and a civilized man, certain privileges and benefits come his way. Finally, too, he begins to have some doubt in regard to the relative merits of his own and the white men's religions. And so, partly to be on the safe side, partly to appease the palefaces, and partly to reap any benefits that may result, he adopts Chris-

tianity and civilization although still adhering, strictly in private and among his fellows, to his ancestral gods and customs. In many a church where Indians attend Christian services, a little stone or wooden image is carefully concealed from prying eyes, and, in some parts of Bolivia and other South American countries where the Indian population predominates, the Indians openly carry their gods' proxies into the churches and carry them out again at the close of the services. Even the Christian priests are compelled to wink at this custom, for without their effigies the Indians would not enter the church, and the priests argue that it is better that the Indians should take part in the Christian service with a heathen image before them than not at all.

CHAPTER VI

SUPERSTITIONS AND LEGENDS

IN addition to their true religious beliefs, the American Indian tribes possess innumerable superstitions and beliefs which, though not exactly sacred, are so inextricably interwoven with their religions that it is almost impossible for the white man to separate them. To the Indian, no doubt, the distinctions are clear, but no white man has ever been able thoroughly to fathom and understand the Indian mind and psychology.

Moreover, the Indian looks upon everything from a viewpoint totally different from the white man's. He is far more imaginative, he is poetically and romantically inclined, and he is wont to see in everything some occult or supernatural influence or meaning. Being unable to account for many things which science has made simple for us, he attributes them to the spirits, deities, or devils, according to their character and influence upon his life. Much of the Indian's religion and beliefs is built upon myths, legends, and folklore. Accustomed to most remarkable natural phenomena which are inexplicable to him, he is quite ready to believe in almost any explanation, no matter how ridiculous, far-fetched, or utterly impossible it may be.

So, too, the Indian reasons backward from cause to effect rather than from effect to cause, and invents a reason and a sequence of events to account for anything which is not obvious by actual observation. Often his theories and explanations are plausible, even if quite impossible. In Indian folklore and traditions, great ingenuity, a keen sense of humor, and a most vivid imagination are shown. This is particularly true of those myths dealing with the habits and peculiarities of wild creatures, stories which remind us forcibly of the Uncle Remus tales.

Oddly enough, there are many Indian legends dealing with a great flood. Basing their claims on this, many persons have argued that it proves the literal truth of the Biblical story, while others have tried to identify the Indians with the Israelites because of the flood tales. As a matter of fact, such legends are common to nearly every primitive race. In every land where there are rains or rivers, there are and always have been floods, and as floods are usually disastrous events to primitive man, it is only natural that such catastrophes should be perpetuated in the tribal legends.

Although every tribe has its own folk tales, legends and myths, very often there is a striking similarity between tales of widely separated and apparently distinct tribes. As a rule, certain tales will be known only to certain tribes of strong racial affinities, or to tribes so closely associated that the stories have become common property. Also, folk tales, like commodities, are traded from tribe to tribe. A story which appeals to an Indian may be

carried by word of mouth for incredible distances, to crop up, most unexpectedly, far from its original source. Among many tribes, the story-teller, or, if I may use the term, the historian, is a highly esteemed individual and is always welcomed with open arms as an entertainer. Merely by telling tales he earns an easy livelihood and he may travel in perfect safety from tribe to tribe, even among hostiles, telling his stories wherever he stops. Very often these tales are very long—veritable continued stories. I have often listened to the droning voice of a narrator relating a legend night after night, beginning each time where he had left off the previous evening, while his audience gathered about and listened, as thrilled and expectant as the most avid reader of our own serials awaiting the next instalment of a story.

Of course such itinerant story-tellers keep adding to their stock in trade, picking up a tale here, another there, often weaving several legends into one, adding their own ideas, suiting their descriptions and incidents to the tribesmen to whom they are recounting their stories, and leaving behind them, memorized versions which in time become recognized tribal myths. In this manner, folk tales, traditions, even beliefs and superstitions, become inextricably confused. Characters (especially if heroic or supernatural) in the tales of one race or district are often adopted and embodied in the stories of a totally distinct tribe in some far-distant area.

Any animal or bird which occupies a prominent place in a tale of one tribe may be and often is

adopted as a character in the stories of a tribe whose members have never seen or known the creature. Indeed, the very fact that such characters are wholly strange makes them the more mystical and interesting and the more likely to be perpetuated. As a result, persons unfamiliar with conditions are often misled and assume that because an Indian tribe describes certain creatures in the tribal legends such creatures must have been known to the race, and, on this basis, attempt to trace migrations, origins, and relationships.

Several volumes might be filled with Indian folk stories, legends and myths but the following are typical examples and will serve as illustrations of all.

The Carib Story of the Flood

In the beginning, says the Carib legend, the birds and beasts could talk with man, and the sun and moon walked about the earth. At that time, there was but one man on earth and he was the first Carib. He was very friendly with all beasts and birds and had not learned to kill them and eat their flesh, and so he was hard put to it to find enough to eat, for there was very little food in the land.

One day, however, the man noticed that the tapir went each day into the forest and returned well filled with food, and, knowing the creature must have some secret spot at which he ate, the Carib spoke to him and said: "Tell me, Tapir, where to find the food upon which you grow so sleek and fat, for I am very hungry and know not where I may seek more food to fill my stomach."

But the tapir was greedy and laughed at the man and refused to tell.

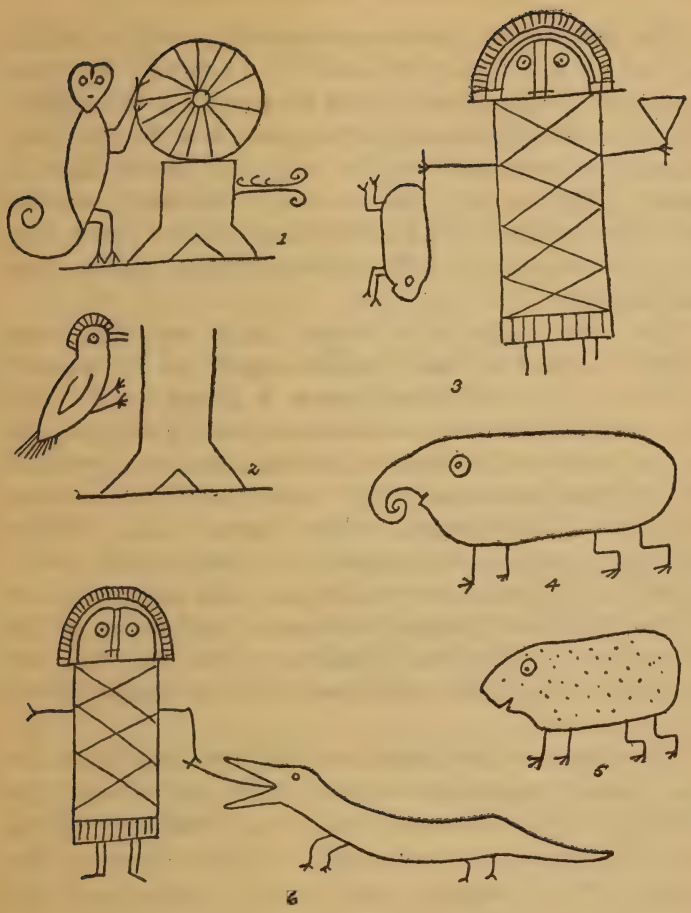
Then the Carib called to the woodpecker and told him to follow the tapir and see where he went each day. The woodpecker agreed to this, and the next morning, when the tapir rose from his bed among the reeds by the riverside and went to seek his food, the woodpecker followed, flying from tree to tree, and always keeping the tapir in view.

But the woodpecker was hungry and, each time that he lit upon a tree, he tapped loudly with his bill, seeking for worms. The tapir heard the noise and noticing that the woodpecker was following him wherever he went, he became suspicious and led the bird far astray until the woodpecker, becoming weary, flew back to the Carib and told him he could not find the tapir's feeding place.

This made the man very angry and, raising his club, he struck the bird. The club, hitting the woodpecker's head, left a blood-stained mark, and, to this day, all woodpeckers have the red mark on the back of the head, and whenever a woodpecker sees a man, he utters his cry of fear and hides behind a tree trunk.

Next, the Carib went to the paca (an animal much like a giant guinea pig) and, telling him of his troubles, he asked the paca to follow the tapir and find out where food was so plentiful.

The paca agreed, and waddled off after the tapir. But he soon forgot all about his bargain with the man, and ate and ate, until he could hold no more. Then at last, he remembered his promise and started to go back to the Carib. But he was so full that he could barely move, and feeling drowsy after his feast, he fell fast asleep.



THE CARIB STORY OF THE FLOOD

Drawings from Indians' Sketches to Illustrate the Folklore Story

1. "The monkey lifted the basket from the stump."
2. "The woodpecker stopped to tap on the trees."
3. "The man lifted the labba by its tail."
4. "The tapir."
5. "The labba after its tail came off."
6. "The man pulled out the alligator's tongue."

Meanwhile the Carib was starving, and at last he set out to seek food for himself. Presently he came upon the sleeping paca, with corn still in his mouth. Then the Carib, knowing the paca had found food, seized the creature by the tail and shook him in anger. The paca's tail was very slender, and the paca was so heavy with all the food he had eaten that the tail broke short off; and ever since, pacas have had no tails.

The paca, who is a very timid creature, was greatly afraid of the Carib's anger; so he quickly led him to a spot where grew a great tree. This tree was different from all other trees, for its trunk was of stone and upon its branches grew every kind of fruit and seed and root. Some bore corn, others cassava, others beans, others sugar cane, others plantains, others pineapples, and others such useful things as cotton, arrow canes, and silk grass. Some of the fruits and grains had ripened and fallen to the ground and these the Carib ate; but he was not satisfied, so he fell to work with his ax and chopped down the tree.

The center of the trunk was hollow, and from the hole gushed a stream of water which spread over the land and nearly drowned the man. Then the Carib seized a basket and placed it upside down on the stump. This stopped the flow of water and the Carib lay down and slept.

As the Carib slumbered, the monkey drew near. Seeing the basket upon the stump, and curious to learn what nice thing the man had hidden under it, he crept forward and lifting the edge of the basket, peeped beneath. Instantly the water rushed forth stronger than ever and flooded the land, and the

Carib and the birds and animals barely saved themselves by climbing into a tall palm tree.

There they sat and waited for the waters to go down, and the red baboon, growing impatient, opened his mouth and roared and howled so loudly that his throat was swollen. To this day, all the red baboons have swollen throats and they howl and roar loudly whenever it looks like rain.

But the flood still continued, and the Carib busied himself by tossing palm nuts into the water to judge of its depth by the sound of the splash, until at last he knew the water was going down.

Then bits of the earth showed above water and the Carib and the birds and beasts started to descend. The trumpet bird was in such a hurry that he flew quickly down and landed in an ants' nest, and the ants, crawling up his fat legs, bit and gnawed at them until they were thin and spindly as they are to-day, while the pain of the ants' stings made the poor bird dance and hop about, just as all trumpet birds still dance and hop about in the forest to-day.

As soon as the Carib reached the ground, he tried to make a fire by rubbing two sticks together, and at last he made a tiny spark. As he turned his back a moment, the marudi pheasant saw the spark and thinking it a firefly, gobbled it up and flew away. The spark burned the marudi's throat; and all marudis still have their necks red and bare of feathers, where the spark burned the marudi long ago.

When the Carib missed the spark he had made, he became angry and cried out to all the birds and beasts, demanding who had stolen his fire.

And all the birds and beasts answered that it was the alligator whom they hated for his ugliness, al-

though he was harmless and gentle in those days. Then the Carib became furious and seizing the alligator's tongue, tore it out looking for the spark. That is why the alligator has but a bit of a tongue and lives by himself in the water and hates all other creatures and kills all that come near.

At last the Carib made more fire and cooked food. In the flood most of the seeds and roots had been carried away, so the man, having gathered up as many as he could find, dug holes in the earth and planted them, that he and his progeny might never go hungry again. So, to-day, the fruits and seeds that once grew upon the stone tree are found throughout the land, where they were carried by the flood; but man plants only a few that were saved by the first Carib.

Not only is this a typical legend of its kind, but it also is an excellent example of the Indian's method of reasoning and of accounting for anything which to them is inexplicable by natural causes. Thus, they point out a slender eroded stone column which stands prominently beside the river in the forest and which, as a matter of fact, does resemble a giant tree trunk, and declare, in all seriousness that this is the stump of the tree cut down by the original Carib.

Another typical story is the Akawoia version of the creation, which is as follows:

How the Animals Were Made

According to the Akawoias, Tuminkar, the creator, first made the earth and the waters, the rivers and the land, the forests and mountains, and the

plants and flowers. Then, having finished, he tossed the remaining bits of leaves, sticks, and blossoms into the air. As he did so he gave them life and they became insects; the flowers butterflies, the leaves grasshoppers and similar things, and the twigs and bits of earth, beetles, bugs, scorpions, and crawling things, while grains of sand became ants.

Then, taking a bit of clay, Tuminkar modeled it with a head and body and eyes, but he could not make good legs; so, throwing it into the river, he said, "You are too ugly to be seen, go and live out of sight in the mud." So the manatee was made. Again Tuminkar tried to make some creature, but still he was not successful, and every piece of clay that he formed was cast into the river and became a fish.

Then Tuminkar at last made the snakes and the serpents, and by adding legs, he made the frogs and the toads. But still they were ugly things until Tuminkar tried adding a tail and thus made the lizard. He was pleased with this and made them larger and larger until he formed the iguana and finally the alligator and the crocodile.

Then he said to himself, "There must be some one to rule all these creatures. Why should I not make something in my own form which they will know as the ruler of them all?" So it came about that Tuminkar made men and women and gave them greater knowledge than any other living creatures. They were friendly with all things and ate only the fruits and roots and seeds which Tuminkar had provided.

Having made man and woman, Tuminkar decided to make other creatures to dwell upon the earth with them, for the man and the woman thought the toads, frogs, lizards, and snakes dull and ugly creatures, while the insects would either fly away or sting them,

and the fishes could not leave the waters to be with them.

As Tuminkar fashioned the new creatures, he gave them voices and calls and asked each where he preferred to dwell and what he would choose to eat. Then, according to their choice, he gave them teeth and claws and colors.

The first creature made was the monkey, for Tuminkar had just finished the man and his fingers unconsciously molded the clay into a shape like the man. Then, that he might easily be known from man, he gave the monkey a tail and a coat of hair. The monkey was very proud of being so like man and strutted about on the ground and could not make up his mind where to live or what to eat and so, while he waited for the answer, Tuminkar went on with the next beast.

This was the jaguar and when he was asked where he would dwell and what he would eat, the jaguar glanced about and seeing the monkey, exclaimed, "I will live on the ground and eat other creatures," and with that he sprang at the monkey. But he had not been given his claws and teeth and the monkey slipped from him and screamed, "I will live in the trees and eat fruit," and at once he leaped into the nearest tree. Here, feeling safe, he chattered at the jaguar and threw fruit at him and these, striking the jaguar's yellow coat, left black marks which you may see to this day. The monkeys still chatter when they see the jaguar and the jaguars love monkey meat better than any other food.

Then Tuminkar made the deer, while the jaguar and the monkey watched. When the deer was finished, he looked at the trees and seeing the monkey so like a man he feared to live there, and then glanc-

ing upon the ground he saw the jaguar with his cruel teeth and claws. But the deer was fleet of foot and feeling sure he could outrun the jaguar and would be safer on the earth than in the trees, he said in a very low voice, "I will live on the ground and eat grass." So Tuminkar gave him his teeth and his hoofs and turned him loose. Instantly the jaguar sprang at him; but the deer was almost out of reach and the jaguar's teeth just closed upon the deer's tail, biting a bit of it off and leaving two white edges where the sharp fangs scraped along.

Next, Tuminkar made the wild hog (peccary) and the hog, when asked his choice, replied, "Make more of us that we may consult together where best to live and feed." So Tuminkar made more hogs, and consulting together, they decided they would dwell in the forests and eat roots. But as there were so many of them the jaguar feared to attack them, and grunting, they ran into the forest unmolested. Ever since that time wild hogs have always lived together in herds.

Then Tuminkar made the labba (paca) and the labba chose to live on the ground, for his short legs and heavy body would not do for climbing trees. As he waddled off, the jaguar sprang upon him, but the labba rolled into the river and the jaguar let go his hold. You may still see the white marks of his claws upon the labba's sides and back, and to this day the labba lives near the river and tumbles into the water when frightened.

Tuminkar next made the kinkajou (or honey bear). As he formed him, the monkey cried out that all the beasts were choosing the ground and that he would be left alone in the trees, and Tuminkar's ears being filled with the monkey's words, he absent-

mindedly formed the kinkajou partly like the monkey. As soon as the kinkajou was finished, and before Tuminkar could ask the question, the monkey screamed, "Say you will live in the trees and eat fruit," and then, being a very greedy creature and fearing there would not be enough fruit for two, he added, "and insects and honey." So the kinkajou still lives with the monkeys in the trees and eats fruit and honey and insects.

Next Tuminkar began to make the agouti, but being interrupted by the monkey who wanted another companion, Tuminkar became angry and threw a bit of clay at the monkey. Now it happened that this was the piece of clay for the agouti's tail and so the agouti has always been without a tail.

After the agouti, Tuminkar made the tapir, and as the monkey looked on from the trees and saw the great beast taking form, he said to himself, "Suppose that fellow should decide to live in the trees. He is so big and heavy he would break the branches, and to fill his big stomach would take all the fruit. Of course he should live on the ground, but if he sees the jaguar he'll never do so."

But the monkey was afraid to call down to the tapir, as he had done to the kinkajou, for fear that Tuminkar would throw clay at him, and, thought he, "Suppose it should strike me; it would be a great nuisance to have a tail or a leg sticking out of my head or my back."

Then, seeing Tuminkar was very busy, the monkey climbed down from the tree, and getting out of sight behind the tapir's back, he whispered in his ear, "Don't say anything." So when Tuminkar asked the tapir his choice, the creature was silent, for, thought he, "This fellow whispering in my ear is

so like a man he must know more than I." Again Tuminkar asked the question and once more the monkey whispered, "Don't answer," and again the tapir was silent.

Then Tuminkar became vexed and cried out, "You are a stupid beast. Go live where you please and eat what you can get. Be off with you!" So saying, he grasped a stick and struck the tapir across the rump and the stick, hitting the tapir's newly made tail, broke it off. So to-day the tapir lives on the ground and is silent and eats leaves from the trees as well as grass and reeds and has but a stump of a tail.

Tuminkar saw the monkey scrambling away and guessed he had been up to mischief, and, becoming disgusted with the choices of the creatures, he exclaimed, "None of you know what is best for yourselves, so hereafter I'll leave you no choice but will settle the matter myself."

"And as for you," he continued, addressing the monkey, "you're a meddler and a mischievous fellow; but I'll soon settle that."

So he made the ocelot and giving him sharp teeth and claws he said to him, "Go after that rascally monkey. If you cannot catch him for your food, hunt on the ground." The ocelot sprang at the monkey, but the latter had been listening and leaped off and the ocelot's fresh coat was rubbed and blurred and streaked in spots as he knocked against the branches while chasing the monkey. So, even to-day, the ocelot is the monkey's worst enemy and when he cannot catch monkeys he feeds on other creatures on the ground.

So Tuminkar continued to make animals. He made the coati and the raccoon, the opossum and the *hacka,* the fox and the rat, the otter and the squirrel,

and many other creatures. At last, nearly all the claws were used and when he came to the sloths he could spare but three claws for one and two for the other, for fear none would be left for other animals. Then he found he had used the last of the teeth so when he made the ant-eaters he was obliged to let them go without teeth. He placed so much hair on the ant bear that none was left. As he had no teeth and only a few claws remaining, he made the birds, giving them feathers instead of fur and hair, and beaks in place of teeth, and only two feet in order to save claws.

Finally, only a lump of dirty clay and a few odd claws were left. These Tuminkar formed into the armadillo, but it was such a naked, helpless thing that he took pity on it. Rising he took the basket which had held the clay, and clapping it over the armadillo he exclaimed: "You have no teeth with which to bite, and no hair to protect yourself. So, live in holes in the earth and hide yourself beneath the basket when you come forth." So, to this day, the armadillo lives in burrows and never is he seen without the basket covering his back.

Very similar to these legends of the South American Indians are those of our North American tribes. An excellent example of these is the following:

The Arikara Story of Creation

According to the legends of this tribe, all the different kinds of living beings, including the human race, originated and were confined within the earth. Here they were much crowded, and had but little

light, and they began to realize their condition and felt more and more the desire to find light and freedom. At that time of beginnings there were none of the living creatures as we know them. There were no fishes in the waters, no birds or insects in the air, no animals and no men upon the earth. But these living things within the earth were striving and working to reach the surface and find light and liberty, so they constantly prayed and groped and did their best to explore and find some way to attain their desires. But they met with many difficulties and obstacles.

The mole tried to bore through the ground to the surface and succeeded, but as he pushed his head into the light he was blinded by the sunshine and hurriedly drew back. And so to-day, the mole still lives just under the surface of the earth and is blind.

The mole having made an opening, all the other living things hurried to push through. But before all could emerge, the earth closed upon them and so, to this day, the gophers and badgers and snakes and many other creatures must still dwell in the ground.

Those which had come out in safety began to move and to travel to the west. On their way they came to a great body of water. Here was another obstacle to be overcome, and all their powers were exerted in trying to cross the water. Those that could fly had little trouble, but those that could not tried other ways. Before all could swim or jump or cross by other means, the waters closed upon some, and so we still find people of the waters, such as the fishes, the frogs, the turtles, and other creatures which dwell in the rivers and the sea.

Once more the living things which had crossed the

water continued on their way, but after a time they came to a dense forest, and again their way was stopped. Here they prayed and called on the elements to aid them and used all their own powers in order to pass through the seemingly impenetrable forest. Some made their way without much trouble, but others had a hard time, and some failed to get through and had to remain forever in the woods. These people became the deer, the moose, the bears, and porcupines, and all the forest folk large and small.

And then God, seeing that certain people had overcome all the difficulties put in their way, and to prayers and offerings had trusted more than to their own efforts, He blessed these people as human beings and revealed mysteries to them and gave them the greatest power of all creatures. He gave them a sacred (medicine) bundle and a medicine pipe to use in prayer. He taught them religion and how to worship, and, as He showed us, so we do to this day. He gave to them roots and seeds and many kinds of plants to be used both as food and as medicine.

He blessed all living creatures upon earth, the trees and flowers and vines and grasses, all the growing things, all the living beings upon the lap of Mother Earth which look up at the Sun, all the animals on the earth and in the waters, and the fowls of the air. And He said that all were friends of the human beings and should not be mistreated, that all things had their place in the universe and should be treated with respect. It was taught that the pipe should be used to offer smoke to all things that God had blessed. And so it has been done from that distant time until to-day.

But there were two creatures, two dogs, which

were asleep when the smoke offerings were made, and they were forgotten. So, when they awoke they were grieved and angry because they had been neglected when smoke offerings had been made to all other living things. And they said to the people: "You have failed to make smoke offerings to us. Therefore to punish you we shall bite you, and yet we will never leave you. We shall follow you and be with you forever."

The names of these two dogs were Sickness and Death, and so, as they said, Sickness and Death are always among all living things upon the earth. Our powers increase and diminish, we have strength and weariness, we are bitten by Sickness and bitten by Death. The sun rises and shines but is overcome by darkness; the moon waxes to fullness and then fades away; the flowers bloom and then wither; the leaves come forth and are cut down by autumn; the wind blows and there is calm. So changes come to all things; all sicken and die. But though Sickness and Death may bite, yet ever all things that are bitten return and are born again.

To us such myths seem merely fanciful fairy tales. But they are very real to the Indian. The Indian, constantly in touch with nature, and, throughout his life faced with phenomena which he cannot explain by natural causes, sees nothing improbable or impossible in nature. To him, there is no reason why spirits or deities should not converse with men, nor why certain supermen should not have conversed with the lower animals. Moreover, he has absolute faith in dreams and signs, and, under certain conditions, he is able to work himself into a state of exalted

semihypnosis during which he sees visions and is convinced that he is in touch with spirits.

We may call this superstition and laugh at it, but is it any more ridiculous than the inbred superstitions that nearly every civilized white man and woman possesses? With few exceptions, people will not knowingly walk under a ladder; there are few who do not inwardly dread the breaking of a mirror, even though they may outwardly scoff at it; even many of our hardest-headed business men believe in the ill luck connected with the number thirteen; and the lucrative business carried on by palmists, astrologers, fortune tellers, spiritualists, and others testifies to the superstitious tendencies of the public.

CHAPTER VII

MEDICINES AND MEDICINE MEN

PRACTICALLY every tribe of American Indians has its medicine men, doctors, priests, shamen, witch doctors, *machis, nelis, leles,* peaimen, or whatever they may be called, men who, in most cases, embody a variety of professions or positions and are usually a powerful factor in their tribe. Many of these medicine men, or women, possess hypnotic powers; others have an almost uncanny gift of mind-reading or mental telepathy; and, with few exceptions, they are past masters at concocting drugs, medicines, poisons, and are experts at sleight of hand.

Of course there is a great deal of nonsense and hocus-pocus connected with the office of medicine man, and they themselves know that many of their supposed supernatural powers and performances are pure fakes. But, with few exceptions, they believe as firmly as do any of their tribesmen that they possess supernatural powers and can communicate with spirits. Often, too, in fact generally, they are men, or women (for among some tribes the women occupy the position of medicine man) who are of superior intelligence, whose advice is sound, and

who were acknowledged leaders before they became medicine men.

The powers and the reverence accorded to these men and women vary among different tribes. In some cases the shaman or medicine man ranks higher than a chief; in others he is regarded merely as a doctor; in still other cases his duties are confined to working spells, interpreting dreams, and forecasting events; while among some tribes he is regarded as a holy man or priest and has no authority or standing except in religious affairs.

Very often, however, his power is tremendous and he is so feared by his fellows that his word is absolute law. In such cases his office enables him to benefit himself and work havoc with those whose enmity or jealousies he has aroused. This is the case among many of the South American tribes where the medicine man or peaiman is supposed to be able to go into a trance and name the person responsible for any offense, including the death or illness of a member of the tribe which is supposedly due to poison, to the evil eye, or to witchcraft. No one dares question the peaiman's selection, and hence, very often, he is able to rid himself of some undesirable competitor or enemy by the simple means of giving his name as the guilty party.

Several methods are followed in reaching this momentous decision; but, in every case, it is by supposedly supernatural or spiritual means. In this, the use of proxies again come into practice. For example, a member of the tribe dies under suspicious or at least inexplicable circumstances, and the peai-



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

SHRINE, HIDATSA INDIANS



From painting from life by the author

STICK DANCE OF GUAYMI INDIANS, PANAMA

man is asked to locate the person responsible for the death. An image or mask is made and named after the deceased Indian, and the peaiman, wearing the mask or carrying the image, becomes, so the Indians believe, possessed with the dead man's spirit and can therefore tell who caused the death. Thus the medicine man acts as a proxy for the dead man, and induces the latter's spirit to take possession of him by using a proxy in the form of an image or mask.

Once the offender's identity has thus been established, the *Kenaima* comes into play. This is a rather involved and mysterious custom in which proxies, superstition, religion, feudism, spiritualism, and vengeance are all combined. Literally, the word Kenaima means the blood-avenger, an invisible spirit whose sole duty is to avenge a death, but who is powerless to wreak vengeance except when entering a human being and taking possession of him. Hence, when a death is to be avenged, an Indian (usually of the dead man's immediate family or a blood relation) becomes Kenaima, or in other words, he offers himself as a suitable proxy for the avenging spirit.

So sincere is his belief that the spirit actually takes possession of him that, mentally and physically, he is transformed, and, forsaking all human companionship, subsisting on little or nothing, he becomes the avenger whose sole object in life is to hunt down and destroy the murderer, either real or supposed, of his fellow tribesman. No human being must see or speak to him until his mission is accomplished for, according to the Indians' belief, any one en-

countering the Kenaima would become possessed of the avenging spirit or would incur his wrath. Hence, whenever a Kenaima, ranging the forest in search of his victim, approaches a village, camp, or human being, he utters a peculiar warning whistle, whereupon all hearers hide themselves in fear and trembling.

When at last the Kenaima comes upon his quarry he may destroy him in one of two ways. If he has chosen to be a "Tiger" Kenaima he must strike down his man with a short, especially made Kenaima club; but if he has become a "camudi" (anaconda) Kenaima, he must kill his victim by strangling him with his bare hands.

In either case, if the full rites are carried out to the letter, the Kenaima must return to the body after three days and plunge a stake or spear into the corpse. He must then lick the point of the weapon in order to release the avenger's spirit, as otherwise he would continue wandering about and would kill all whom he met. So fixed is this belief that a Kenaima, unable to accomplish this portion of his task, actually becomes a homicidal maniac. For this reason the ceremony is usually performed as soon as the victim is dead.

There is no escape from a Kenaima. He is tireless, almost superhuman in his fanaticism, and he will not hesitate to follow a victim into civilized communities and strike him down on the public street. It makes no difference if the Kenaima himself is killed. By some seemingly occult means the tribe knows instantly if the Kenaima has been destroyed,

and immediately another takes his place. So hopeless is it for an Indian to evade the avenger that, as a rule, a man who knows a Kenaima is on his trail will offer no resistance and will frequently commit suicide.

Moreover, according to Indian law, not only the supposed murderer but all of his relatives and family must be destroyed. This, of course, leads to a Kenaima's being despatched to kill the relatives of the first Kenaima, and, very often, before the feud thus started is over, entire tribes are decimated or wiped out.

Other tribes take revenge in a less destructive but, to them, equally efficacious manner. An image or figure of the offender is made and, after incantations by the medicine man, the manikin is mutilated, destroyed, burned, or tortured, according to the degree of punishment deemed fitting, the belief being that the individual represented by the proxy will suffer in the same way. Still other tribes even scores by putting a curse or a taboo on an enemy either real or fancied. This often takes the form of convincing the victim, through his faith in the medicine man's powers, that devils or evil spirits have taken possession of his body, or again it may be social and tribal ostracism which, under such socialistic conditions as exist among many tribes, is a most terrible punishment.

Often, too, an evil charm or talisman is placed among the victim's belongings or in his house or hammock. This is akin to the *obeah* practices of the African races, and as Indians have absolute faith in

such charms the results are usually entirely satisfactory to the fellow's enemies.

Nearly all tribes, both in North and South America, have great faith in charms, amulets, talismans, etc., and, very frequently, the charms actually bring about the desired results. This is not, of course, because of any power or inherent qualities of the talismans, but merely because of the implicit faith in them.

Among the Patamonas of Guiana, the women use the dried and powdered flowers of a leguminous vine as a love potion. According to their belief, if this powder is thrown on a man's face, or is scattered over him, he will marry the user of the powder or go insane. As the men believe as thoroughly in this as do the women it is obvious that the charm will always work. A man upon whom the powder is scattered is convinced that if he does not marry the woman he will go mad and hence he marries her, with the result that belief in the magical properties of the charm is still more firmly established.

In other words, the results attained are, in many cases, purely psychological; but as the Indian does not understand psychology and invariably seeks some occult or magical solution, the charm or talisman is always given the credit. This is the case with the innumerable hunting, fishing, travel, dance, war, love, and other charms so widely used by the Indians. A hunter, without his talisman, has no self-confidence; he feels that he will not be successful, and, as a result, he is not. But possessing his favorite talisman he feels confident he will secure

game, he unconsciously does his best, and he succeeds.

Many of the talismans or charms used are most peculiar. Often they are most incongruous objects, bits of hair, toe or finger nails, seeds or bulbs, which to us have no connection with the supposed object of the charm. But fully as often, the charm will be obviously what it is intended for. Bits of the animal for which a hunter seeks, scales or bones of fish, feathers and beaks of birds, or tiny wooden, skin, stone, clay, or beadwork images of the creatures are often used.

As a rule, also, secrecy is a very potent factor in the success of charms. To let another see or handle a charm destroys its efficiency. Among many tribes a man's charms are ruined if a woman looks at them or even if her shadow falls upon them; and the reverse is the case with the women's charms.

Of a different class are the charms consisting of self-inflicted wounds, tortures, or injuries. These, known to the jungle tribes of northeastern South America as *beenas,* are widely used and, the more painful the charm the more efficacious it is according to Indian belief. In other words, the use of the beena is akin to the fanatical Christian's idea that self flagellation, fasting, and other forms of abnegation made him more worthy of the Lord's favor and more fit for eternal salvation.

The commonest forms of these beenas are certain plants whose leaves, fruits, roots, etc., contain strongly acid or irritating juices. When an Indian is about to start on a hunt or any other undertaking

he will select the proper leaf or root and, scratching or cutting his arms, legs, body or face, he will rub the irritating juices into the wounds. To the Indian, each of the beena or charm leaves or plants has its distinctive purpose. Thus the leaf of a caladium with white streaks and spots is the paca beena, as the paca is similarly spotted; a black-mottled leaf is the jaguar charm, and so on. Very often there is no visible reason for the association of a certain beena plant and the purpose it is used for. For certain undertakings the body of a frog or toad is substituted for a plant. The creature's body may be burned and the ashes rubbed into the wounds, or the slime from the living reptile may be employed.

For more important or serious matters, more drastic measures are used, and among such the "ant beenas" and "centipede beenas" are common. The ant beena consists of a wooden or basketry frame, constructed like a grid, into the interstices of which biting ants are thrust with their heads and jaws projecting on one side. This is then pressed against the user's body or limbs so that the scores of ants bite the flesh viciously. The centipede beena is similar, a single centipede being substituted for the ants.

But the most drastic and painful of all such charms is the "nose beena." This consists of a braided fiber affair from two to three feet in length and tapering from a point at one end to a diameter of half an inch at the other which terminates in a large bunch or tassel of loose fibers. When this charm is to be used a biting ant is attached to the small end by a bit of wax, and is thrust up the user's

nostril. Biting as he goes, and being pushed from the rear, the ant travels through the nasal passages until he emerges in the throat. The Indian then seizes the end of the beena and draws the whole rough fiber affair through his nose and out of his mouth. It is almost impossible to imagine the intense agony this operation must cause but this, to the Indian, merely proves it a most powerful charm, and hence the suffering is endured without outward indications except profuse watering of the eyes and a flow of blood from mouth and nose.

These are all temporary charms to be used as occasions arise, but there are also permanent charms or talismans. These are designs tattooed on the Indian's face or body and they supposedly operate for his benefit throughout his life. Hunting, fishing, war, dance, and medicine charms are often of this character as used by men. The women of South American tribes are frequently tattooed with drink charms which indicate that they not only are the selected beverage-makers of their clan or tribe, but are also protected from evil spirits' entering their bodies or the drinks they prepare.

Many of these charms and talismans verge on the line of true medicines, although just where an Indian charm and a true medicine begins or ends is a puzzle to a white man.

To the Indian the term "medicine," or rather its equivalent in his own dialect, does not necessarily mean a remedy. It may imply a cure; but it also includes magic, witchcraft, spiritualism, dreams, prophecies, visions, or anything savoring of the un-

canny, the supernatural, the inexplicable, or the mysterious; and it is also applied to anything which the Indian considers luck, fortune, or fate. Moreover, he has his good and bad medicine, and the word is used as an adjective to describe anything of a mysterious nature or anything believed capable of influencing his fortunes, acting as a charm, putting him in communication with spirits, interpreting his dreams, or possessing occult powers. Thus he has his medicine dances, medicine moccasins, medicine houses, medicine bundles, medicine weapons, etc.

When we realize that a very large proportion of Indian remedies are of a magical or occult character we can readily understand why it is so difficult for a white man to differentiate between the Indian's medicines, charms, fetishes, proxies, etc. Among some tribes, to be sure, the use of herbs, roots, and other vegetable specifics is prevalent, and, in many cases, these Indians possess a very extensive and thorough knowledge of the medicinal properties of such things.

In fact, many of our most valued and reliable medicines and drugs are of Indian origin and were known to and used by the Indians centuries before the advent of Europeans in America. Such are arnica, wintergreen, balm of Gilead, pine tar, camomile, and many other standard medicines ordinarily accredited to our pioneer ancestors, but in reality obtained by them from their Indian friends.

In Panama, the Coclé tribe makes use of many valuable and efficacious remedies, such as the leaves and bark of the coca shrub, bruised and used to al-

leviate pain, though never as a drug; aromatic gums and astringents mixed with unguents as salves for wounds; decoctions of bitter roots for tonics; the bark of the cinchona tree for malaria; salts for purgatives, etc.

In Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador the chewing of coca is almost universal, the leaves being masticated in conjunction with a piece of lime or some ashes, and the small amount of cocaine thus derived serving as a stimulant. By chewing the coca the Andean Indians can go without food for an incredible period, and can and do perform most prodigious feats of endurance, tramping with huge loads over the mountains with no signs of fatigue. It is in these same lands that the Indians had learned the medicinal value of quinine long before America was known to the Spaniards.

Many a white man owes his life to the medicinal knowledge of the Indians, and I can personally testify to the efficiency of Indians as physicians, for I was safely brought through an attack of yellow fever by Indians and Indian medicines.

Among many tribes, too, the true medicinal remedies are combined with many nostrums and a deal of hocus-pocus, magic, charms, etc. This is unquestionably due very largely to the medicine man's desire to keep his medicines secret, a result which he accomplishes by confusing his patients and fellow tribesmen with his mummery and charms, and leading them to believe that the cure is magical while, in reality, the cure is effected by simple medication.

Among still other tribes true remedies are never

used and the medicine man's stock in trade consists wholly of supposedly magical remedies. Very often some of these nostrums are highly amusing. Bits of glass, bottle stoppers, old door-knobs, discarded electric-light bulbs, oddly shaped or colored pebbles, bones, teeth, claws, skulls, oddly shaped sticks and knots, buttons, and over one hundred other articles were contained in a medicine basket which I obtained from a noted Tupi-towali (San Blas) medicine man.

Many of these objects had been worn thin and had acquired a high polish from repeated use for, as the old fellow explained, the "cures" were effected by rubbing the afflicted part of the patient's body with the proper "medicine." Thus, in the case of an injury to the head, or a headache, the skull of some animal was rubbed upon the patient's head. If the injury or trouble was in a leg, the leg bone of some bird or animal was used, the particular article employed depending upon the nature of the injury and the sick person's clan. For instance, if a man injured his leg in a boat the bone of some water bird or animal must be used, the exact identity of the creature depending upon the clan or patron animal of the patient. If he was of the pelican clan then a pelican's leg was essential, and so on.

Just what clan and what particular injury called for the use of the old door knobs I was unable to ascertain; but the old "doctor" informed me in all seriousness that electric-light bulbs were most potent and reliable specifics for sore eyes and blind-

ness because, as he said, the electric light by its magic enables one to see in the darkness.

In this type of doctoring we again find proxies in combination with spiritualism, for the medicine, in the form of a bone, skull, or other portion of an animal of the clan of the patient is, in reality, merely a proxy for the creature whose spirit is supposed to look after members of its clan.

There are also tribes whose medical practice consists of massaging, vapor or medicinal baths, etc., while among still others witchcraft and magic, incantations and medicine dances are the mode.

As faith has a very large part in effecting any cure, even in our own civilized world, the Indians' cures, no matter how ridiculous to us, often work wonders. In fact, among the Araucanians, or more properly the Mapuches, of southern Chile, the word of the *machi* or medicine woman, together with the smoke from her medicine pipe, is sufficient to cure almost any ailment of her tribes people.

Just as the medicines used and the *modus operandi* followed vary among different tribes, so the manner in which a medicine man acquires his position or obtains his degree varies. In some cases the office is hereditary and the position or rank of medicine man is handed down from father to son, the secrets of the profession being carefully guarded and divulged only to the successor. In other cases, the rank is acquired through some apparently supernatural or magical deed or power: by the alleged visitation of a spirit, a miraculous vision, or even by a dream. In still other cases the medicine man is elected or ap-

pointed by vote or council, and, in many cases, a man may embody the dual positions of chief and medicine man.

Among some tribes a man's possession of some important secret, such as knowledge of poison-making, may be enough to insure his position and the position of his descendants as medicine men. Such is the case with the brewers of the deadly wurali poison of South America, while among our North American Indians a man usually becomes a shaman or medicine man by fasting, prayer, and seeing a vision.

Somewhat similar is the method followed by the Tegualas and Tupi-towalis of Central America. When a man of these tribes thinks he should become a medicine man he goes alone into the jungle and fasts for several days. If, during the allotted period, a bird alights upon him or comes near him, he knows that he is selected for the office. As a symbol of this, he carries a staff with the carved figure of a bird upon a man's head or upon a house. He is entitled to wear the feather crown and is recognized as a medicine man by his fellows, although he has no standing as a chief or ruler.

As a rule, the medicine man holds a far more exalted and powerful place among North American than among South American tribes, and many of the most famous chiefs of the North American Indians have attained prominence and fame as medicine men rather than as true chiefs or rulers. Corn Planter, Chief Gall, Sitting Bull, Chief Joseph, Geronimo, Cochise, and many other famous Indian

chiefs and warriors were all medicine men as well. Very often, such medicine men's decisions regarding war and other highly important matters carried more weight than the words of the true chiefs.

A form of medicine widely used by Indians of both North and South America are the medicine sticks or offering sticks. These are of various designs and are used for many purposes. They may be offerings to spirits made to bring about some desired result, they may serve as warnings to prevent spirits or persons from approaching certain spots, or they may serve as invitations.

They should not be confused with the prayer sticks, which are closely akin to the paper prayers of Orientals, although both are closely associated with the Indians' religion. In the case of prayer sticks, however, a true prayer or invocation is made, the stick acting as concrete evidence and perpetuating the prayer, whereas the medicine sticks are true offerings or sacrifices and may or may not be accompanied by prayers.

Among the Oglala Sioux and related tribes such medicine or offering sticks are common. The affair consists of a wand of some tree sprout, preferably the wild plum, peeled, and painted or not according to the taste of the maker. When the stick is painted, the colors and designs are symbolic. Thus if colored red, it indicates an offering to a supernatural being. Near the top of the stick is attached a tiny bundle of something which the Indians feel will be pleasing to the gods. This may be tobacco, food, medicine, cloth, trinkets, hair, or fur; a bit of skin, or colored

feathers; for the offering is, in effect, a proxy or representation of gifts and expresses the Indian's desire to please his deities, and no matter how small the offering on the stick may be it contains the immaterial self or spirit of offering.

Any one may make and use such an offering stick, provided it is done with the appropriate ceremonies, but as a rule these offerings are made in order to cure sickness. When a medicine man or shaman is treating a patient it is customary for him to use these sticks in order to propitiate his particular familiar or a chosen god. Often as many as twenty or thirty such offerings may be seen on a single altar outside a house where some one is ill.

The altar is not, however, essential, and the sticks may be placed anywhere as long as the wand is upright and the offering is at the top. Often the shaman makes his offering secretly in a hidden place, or he may place it on the roof of a house or elsewhere; but the most efficient manner is to place it on an altar especially prepared with proper ceremonies.

Similar to these are the Sioux invitation sticks. In fact the two kinds are often confused. But they are easily distinguishable, as the invitation wand lacks the bundle of offerings and has the upper end ornamented with quillwork or paint.

Among some of the Central American tribes, similar medicine sticks are used for exactly the same purposes, while others, consisting of sticks either plain or painted and with streamers of cloth,

feathers, or bits of string attached to the top, are placed upright near a house or village as a warning to strangers to keep away.

Among these tribes a peculiar form of medicine stick is used to safeguard a hut or a village or even an ill person from evil spirits. It consists of a peeled wand, either plain or painted, and varying in length from a few inches to several feet. The upper end is split, and a short piece of wood is inserted in the slit to form a sort of cross. Very often there are two slits at right angles and two crosswise pieces.

These, however, have no connection with the Christian cross, but seem to be more in the nature of the crossing of fingers to keep off witchcraft or the evil eye, a common custom of European peasantry. Or again, it may be more or less connected with these Indians' belief that a devil or evil spirit is easily confused and fears to pass through or enter where there is anything strange, mystical, or irregular.

It is for this reason that nearly every South and Central American tribe, as well as many North American tribes, invariably break or change the design or pattern on anything they make. Oftentimes, a pattern or design composed of certain colors, as of red and blue, will have a small portion worked in green or white, or a symmetrical design may suddenly change at some point and become irregular for a short distance.

Another form of medicine widely used by our North American tribes, and especially by the plains Indians, is the medicine bundle. The medicine bun-

dle may take any one of innumerable forms. It may be a true bundle containing all sorts of odds and ends, scalp locks, herbs, roots, teeth, gum and fur. It is considered particularly potent if it contains the bones or skull of a human being, especially those of some defunct medicine man or shaman. Among the contents of the medicine bundles of our plains Indians there are usually several fossils known as "buffalo stones" which the Indians believe attract or "call" the buffalos. Very often these are neatly covered with leather or hide, often highly decorated, but they always have a small hole or opening in the covering to enable the stone to "look out."

Often an Indian's medicine bundle or bundles will become so voluminous and numerous that it becomes necessary to construct a special place in which to keep them. Such shrines or altars were quite common with our western Indians and are quite elaborate affairs. One of these from the Hidatsas, in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York, consists of a platform covered with medicine robes, highly decorated with feathers and beadwork, and has a great number of medicine bundles, medicine weapons, and odds and ends of mystical, symbolical and medicine objects scattered about on the platform and upon the ground beneath it.

Often the medicine bundle consists of wearing apparel such as shirts, feather bonnets, moccasins, etc. These are particularly curious and interesting.

Among many tribes, when a boy found himself ap-

proaching manhood he made his way to the wildest and most isolated locality he could find and there fasted and prayed in the hope that the spirits would take pity and allow him to have a vision in which he would see his own guardian spirit who would be with him throughout life. In his weak and highly nervous state he would be likely to have a dream or vision in which he would see some animal or some being personifying some element or power, such as the sun, thunder, four winds, or lightning. Often in his vision, the supernatural being would appear to instruct the youth to prepare a medicine bundle composed of various objects, each of which had its symbolic meaning and would bring him or his people good fortune, success in wars and hunting, etc. Frequently the exact meaning of the bundle or its contents would be known only to the owner who would interpret or "read" the bundle when occasions arose.

As an example of the contents of such a bundle we may take a war bundle of the southern Sioux which contains amulets, medicines, and musical instruments. The amulets, fastened to the warrior's body in battle, are parts of fierce, swift, or strong creatures whose qualities or characters are supposedly transmitted to the wearer. Thus a bison's tail imparted strength, a hawk's skin fierceness, a stuffed swallow swiftness, etc. A miniature war club was symbolic of lightning and the power of the thunder gods and a stone ball symbolized thunder's awful destruction. A decorated rope or thong was supposed to bring success in taking prisoners, and a

small human figure of deerskin represented an enemy in the power of the bundle owner. In addition to these, the bundle contains true medicines to be chewed and rubbed on the body for the purpose of turning aside weapons, other medicines for healing wounds, and still others to protect the owner from any evil effects of his own magic.

In addition to such war medicine bundles there were the medicine bundles of the shamen, the medicine bundles for tattooing (a sacred rite among some tribes), bundles for good luck in love, hunting bundles, gambling bundles, bundles to insure success in horse-breeding and in trading, etc.

An excellent example of how a medicine bundle originates is the following account of a pair of medicine moccasins of the Crow Indians, which are now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. This bundle, which was obtained in 1921, belonged at that time to Gray Bull; but the original owner and maker was Sees-the-Living-Bull, who was one of the most famous of the River Crow medicine men and who died in 1896 at the approximate age of ninety-eight years.

According to the family tradition, Sees-the-Living-Bull fasted four times, each time for four days, on the top of a high mountain in the Beartooth Range of Montana. Towards morning of the fifth day of his last fast, he was rewarded with a vision in which he saw the morning star change slowly into a man who stood on the edge of the horizon. Presently this being walked towards the Indian, and after each step a fire appeared in his footprint. When at last the

visionary being stood close to Sees-the-Living-Bull, he spoke as follows:

"I have come carrying a message from Bird-Going-Up, he is coming to see you."

Sees-the-Living-Bull now noticed that the vision wore odd moccasins. On his left foot the moccasin top was made of the skin from a silver-fox head, and on his right foot the moccasin top was made of the skin of a coyote head. Both skins had the ears left on. Around the edge of each moccasin sole were scalp locks with quill wrapping. The heel of the right moccasin was painted black and the heel of the left one red.

Suddenly the Indian heard a coyote howling, and on looking around found that the sounds came from the vision's right moccasin. Then he heard a fox bark and noticed that the sound came from the left moccasin, and that flames came from the fox-skin's mouth. The vision wore a scalp lock shirt and deer-skin leggings fringed with many colored horsehair. On his face was painted a broad red circle intersected by two smaller red circles.

Then the visionary being began to sing and taught Sees-the-Living-Bull seven verses, as follows:

The bird is saying this, and wherever we are, nothing may be in our way.
The bird is gone; I will let him come and watch over you.
I am letting him stay, I am letting him stay.
I am going toward human beings, and they are weak.

The bird from heaven has sympathy toward him.
Whenever I am going, I say this: I am the bird in this world.
My child, I am living among the clouds and there is nothing impossible to me.

After Sees-the-Living-Bull had learned these verses he was told never to go on the warpath in a westerly direction as it would be unlucky, and never after would Sees-the-Living-Bull attack the Flatheads, the Shoshones, or the Arapahoes.

Having received these instructions, Sees-the-Living-Bull felt a sudden wind which caught his blanket and blew it away. As he looked after it, the vision ended and the being vanished.

Then, as the sun rose, the Indian returned to his village and made the medicine bundle with the magic moccasins. These were always kept outside his tent, except when used for ceremonial purposes, when they were carried in around the left side of the tepee and out again by the right side.

According to the Indians, this medicine proved very potent in locating enemies and in guarding Sees-the-Living-Bull from harm when on the warpath, and until his death, he always wore the moccasins at ceremonials, after first smudging them in pine-needle smoke.

Many other medicine bundles have equally interesting stories, but space does not permit of repeating them.

All such medicine bundles of our North American Indians are similar in use and purpose to the beena

or charm bundles of the South American tribes. These contain all sorts of odds and ends, particularly human teeth, hair, and nail clippings, and are most carefully guarded. Both men and women have them, and no member of either sex is supposed ever to touch, see, or even to know of the contents of the bundles belonging to the opposite sex.

Medicine weapons, shields, and implements are also common among nearly all tribes. These are supposed either to protect the owner or to have magical powers to destroy enemies. So absolute is the Indian's faith in such things that he will go to battle armed with a tiny, wholly inadequate medicine shield or clad in a medicine garment in full confidence that it will turn aside arrows, spears, and even bullets. And, as a matter of fact, his belief is often confirmed, not because the medicine shield or garment possesses any magic power but because his enemies, who have an equal faith in the potency of medicine articles, recognize the magic articles and fear to attack the owner.

In the case of wars with white men who are no respecters of the Indian's medicine, if a bullet penetrates the shield or garment or kills the owner, or if a medicine weapon fails to destroy the enemy, the Indian does not lose faith in his magic. Invariably, in such cases, he blames himself and feels positive that somewhere or somehow he failed to fulfill all the essential rites or offerings necessary to give his articles their proper medicine value.

Many Indians also possess or use medicine objects or apparel which are supposed to render the

wearer or user unrecognizable. Such an object is the buffalo sash of our plains tribes. This is made of wisps of buffalo hair and, when worn by the leader of a party, is supposed to make the entire war party look like buffaloes in the eyes of the enemy.

Another form of medicine was believed to render the user or wearer invisible. Among many South American tribes, black feathers are supposed to possess this power. Hence the Kenaima or blood-avenger, when starting on his mission of vengeance, wears a mantle or cape of black feathers. When hunting game or when attacking an enemy, these Indians paint themselves black and wear black feathers, and in order that their arrows may not be seen by the creatures they hunt, they are feathered with black feathers. In other words, black is symbolical of night and has a mystical or medicine power. If treated by a peaiman or medicine man, or if combined with other charms, the potency of black is vastly increased.

CHAPTER VIII

DANCES AND CEREMONIALS

AS is the case with all primitive people, and most civilized people as well, the Indians are extremely fond of dances, ceremonials, and anything of a pompous, spectacular, or theatrical nature. And, as among all primitive people, the Indians' dances are symbolic or are of mystical or ceremonious significance. For that matter, all our own dances were originally mystical or symbolic, although we seldom stop to realize the fact. Just as civilized races have quite forgotten the original significance or purpose of many dances, and follow the steps and evolutions merely for pleasure, so the Indians often dance for recreation and cannot or will not explain how such dances originated or what they mean.

But there is a great difference between Indian dances and Indian ceremonials, although often the two are combined and dances form portions of ceremonies and vice versa. Ordinarily, when we think of an Indian dance, we visualize a war dance of our North American Indians in which a number of the men, attired in all the panoply of war, with painted faces and feather war bonnets, prance around and around a fire, beating their chests, uttering savage shouts, and waving their weapons to the accompani-

ment of a tom-tom. This conventional war dance, which nowadays is usually performed especially for the benefit of tourists and motion-picture cameras, and is more in the nature of a side show than an actual ceremonial, is by no means the only or the most typical dance of our North American tribes. Indeed, many tribes never danced a war dance in this fashion, unless paid to do so in some patent-medicine show or Wild West exhibition.

True war dances are merely one portion of the ceremonial by which the Indians who participate in it believe they acquire courage, spiritual assistance and protection, and, in the case of some tribes, a state of invisibility as far as their enemies are concerned. In other words, through the medium of the dance and the ceremonial, the Indians "make medicine" to insure their own success and their foes' defeat in the coming battle.

The ceremonial is, in fact, very similar in purpose to the Christian custom of offering prayers or saying a Mass before going to war, and is probably just as efficacious. In either case, faith in the ceremonies unquestionably fortifies the warriors and inspires them with unusual courage. In both cases, the prospective fighters quite forget that their enemies are also "making medicine" or praying for supernatural aid and success, and that neither a Christian God nor a pagan deity could possibly see to it that both sides win.

Of the two, perhaps the Indian is more likely to benefit by his pre-war ceremonies than the white man. Not only has he more faith in his own efforts



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, and photographs by the author

DANCE COSTUMES, SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Parasara Costume, Akawoia, British Guiana

Fish Dance, Carajas, Brazil

Jivaro, Ecuador



From paintings from life by the author

KUKWA DANCE, COCLÉ INDIANS OF PANAMA

DEVIL DANCE, AIMARA INDIANS, BOLIVIA

to win the favor of his guardian spirits, but he also has far more faith in his deities than the average Christian has in his God. In the case of the white man, doubt begins to enter his mind if his prayers fail to beget the desired results; but the Indian, when his medicine fails, does not blame his spirits but reasons that, for one reason or another, his own efforts were insufficient and did not please the deities.

Moreover, the white soldier, kneeling in a church, or listening to prayers while standing silently at attention, has neither the opportunity nor the inclination to work himself into a state of frenzied hate, a blind fury, and a disregard for his own fate. But the Indian, ever a fatalist, attains through the mystical ceremonies, the chanting, the dance, and all the savage accompaniments, a semihypnotic state bordering almost on temporary insanity, and a blind, unreasoning ferocity which, combined with his utter disregard of death, often brings him victorious through the most desperate encounters. Naturally, being unable to realize that it is his own mental processes which have accomplished the desired results, the Indian attributes it to the strong and powerful magic of his medicine men and the direct action of the deities or spirits he has pleased.

In addition to all this, the Indian, with his love of the dramatic, the spectacular, and the theatrical, finds the most intense pleasure and gratification in showing off before his women and his fellow men. He mimics the action of the fight, he chants a war song consisting of boasts of what he has done and

what he intends to do, and he strives to impress his audience with his bravery, his prowess, and his importance. By some psychological process rather difficult for a white man to understand, the Indian believes that the war dance and ceremonial, if sufficiently impressive and vociferous, will frighten his enemies and aid in their conquest, even though they may be far away at the time.

This idea of putting fear in the hearts of an absent enemy, who may have no idea of what is taking place, is prevalent among Indian tribes. And it is by no means confined to Indians. Many a Christian believes in the efficacy of "putting a candle" on an enemy or "putting a curse" on some one whom it is desired to injure. Among primitive races, innumerable means are employed for the same purpose.

The more terrifying and horrible the Indians can make themselves, and the more threatening and blood curdling they can make the dance and ceremonial the more, they reason, will their enemies be dismayed over the impending war. Even when it comes to actual fighting, the Indians have great faith in the power of their make-up and endeavor to frighten their foes by their appearance.

In other dances and ceremonials the Indians aim to prove their endurance, their fortitude, and their ability to withstand pain. Such dances and ceremonials usually embody tortures, often self-inflicted and of the most terrible kinds, which the youths must endure without flinching. The ceremonials may be either for the purpose of proving the man's bravery

or may serve as tests of the young men's fitness to become full-fledged warriors.

By far the greatest number of dances and ceremonials, both of the North, Central, and South American tribes, has to do with peaceful matters, such as crops, planting, rains, fishing, hunting, harvesting, thanksgivings, etc. Many of these ceremonials are common, with variations, to widely separated tribes. Thus the planting, rain, and harvesting ceremonials take place at the proper seasons in North, South, and Central America, even though the planting, harvesting, and rainy seasons are at totally different times of the year in these various localities.

In nearly every case, there are certain features of these ceremonials which are strikingly similar. But the resemblances are not surprising when we stop to consider that such ceremonials are of the most ancient origin and may be traced back to the very earliest of our own ancestors. Many of our feasts, dances, and holidays are really survivals of such ceremonials, and our May Day exercises and Maypole dances are merely altered forms of the ancient, heathen, spring ceremonial.

Among the Indians of both North and South America the seasonal dances and ceremonials are numerous and varied. To this class belong the corn dances of many tribes, the rain dances of the Pueblos, the snake dance of the Hopis, etc.

Among the Algonquin tribes of the eastern states, such as the Shawnees and Delawares, a great ceremonial was held each autumn. A specially constructed "great house" was built and here the peo-

ple gathered to give thanks to the Great Spirit and other deities and spirits for the blessings the Indians had received during the past year, to pray for renewal of favors, and to recount the visions of power seen by the youths. In these dances, masks and skins were used, a bearskin representing a woodland spirit supposed to be the guardian of wild game and animals. During the ceremony, special drums of unusual form were used, together with turtle-shell rattles. A "new fire" symbolic of a fresh start in life and affairs was kindled by means of a large ceremonial pump drill.

The similarity between this Algonquin ceremony and our own Thanksgiving Day celebrations is at once obvious. As a matter of fact, our Puritan ancestors copied the Indian ceremonial, even to using the Indian foods, and selected the Indian date for the ceremony when they held their first Thanksgiving. So, quite unconsciously, we are following an Indian custom and are perpetuating the Algonquin ceremonial when, each year, we feast and gather together to show our gratitude for a plentiful and fortunate year.

Other thanksgiving ceremonials are held after hunts, battles, or any other occasions for rejoicing. To this thanksgiving class belongs the sun dance of the Poncas and other western tribes. This dance is not actually so much in the nature of a thanksgiving as a fulfillment of vows. The self-inflicted tortures, such as hanging suspended from a thong fastened to a skewer run through the chest muscles, are all the fulfillment of pledges made by the In-

dians to their deities in return for benefits derived during the past year. They are the Indians' equivalents for the Christian custom of doing penance, making presents, or undergoing hardships, fasts, or other forms of abnegation in return for divine favors desired.

Oftentimes the process was reversed, and the Indians, instead of making vows or promises which were later fulfilled if they received the desired favors, went through their dances, ceremonials, and attendant rites beforehand. Thus were performed the war dances, and especially the buffalo dance which, in the days when bison roamed the plains, was held to placate the spirits of the animals the Indians were about to kill, to insure plenty of buffalo, and to bring success to the hunters.

In this category is the *Peote* ceremony of some of our southwestern tribes. This ceremony, which is held before going on a hunt, is semireligious and is filled with rituals. It all revolves about the chewing or eating of the "button" of a cactus, which is slightly narcotic and which the Indians consider a mystic thing. The Peote ceremony is not, however, truly North American but was introduced from Mexico where the ceremony is quite distinct.

Of a very different type are the dances and ceremonials which are held for the purpose of exorcising evil spirits. These so-called devil dances are common to nearly all tribes and, although varying in details, they are much alike in purpose and general features. During these dances the participants

Masks, Ceremonial Objects, etc.

1. False Face Mask, Tuscarora Indians
2. False Face Mask, Seneca Indians
3. False Face Mask, Iroquois Indians
4. False Face Mask, Seneca Indians
5. False Face Mask, Tuscarora Indians
6. False Face Mask, Tuscarora Indians
7. Mask of Corn Husk, Tuscarora Indians
8. Mask of Gourds, Hopi Indians
9. Mask of Wood and Feathers, Zuñi Indians
10. Mask of Cotton Cloth, "Mud Heads," Zuñi Indians
11. Mask of Skin, Painted, Zuñi Indians
12. Mask of Skin, Painted, Zuñi Indians
13. Mask of Skin, Painted, Hopi Indians
14. Headdress of Wood and Feathers, Zuñi Indians
15. Headdress of Wood, Pueblo Indians
16. Mask, Nishka Indians, Alaska
17. Mask, Yaqui Indians, Mexico
18. Mask, Guatemala
19. Mask, Guatemala
20. Mask, Salvador
21. Mask of Opossum Skin, Salvador
22. Mask, Devil Dancers, Aimara Indians, Bolivia
23. Mask, Mapuche Indians, Chile
24. Headdress, Wood, Apache Devil Dance
25. Headdress, Wood, Apache Devil Dance
26. Scalp Lock, Crow Indians
27. Offering Sticks, Oglala Sioux
28. Prayer Sticks, Zuñi Indians
29. Prayer Sticks, Hopi Indians


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usually don grotesque and hideous masks, partly to prevent the devils from recognizing the wearers, but largely to frighten the demons. And it would be a most bold and persistent sort of devil who would not be scared out of his demoniacal wits by the horrible and terrifying appearance of the masked dancers.

These devil dances are among the most persistent of Indian ceremonials, and even when tribes have become so civilized as to abandon all other primitive customs they still keep up their traditional devil-exorcising practices.

Among the Tuscaroras of New York State, who are highly civilized, modern, and up to date, and who live exactly as do their white neighbors, the annual "falseface" ceremonies are still held, as they were formerly held by all the Iroquois tribes. This ceremony, which has for its purpose the exorcising of evil spirits and the driving away of disease, is carried out by a secret society known as the Falseface Company. The members don grotesque and often hideous masks of wood which are intended to represent the faces of a race of woodland goblins or sprites who were supposed to possess the power of expelling disease. During the time that the Indians represent the spirits, the masked participants do not hesitate to plunge their bare hands into fire and to pick up and handle live coals and hot ashes, while others of the fraternity dance about, thumping their drums and shaking their huge turtle-shell rattles.

At the appointed time each year, these Indians

don their weird masks, and prancing and dancing, rush about, driving off any lurking devils and diseases from persons and houses of the community. It is a strange and remarkable sight to witness these educated, prosperous farmers and tradesmen, dressed in conventional clothes and wearing their horrible masks, rushing about and, temporarily, showing themselves once more the thorough Indians of pre-Columbian days.

The late Mr. Alanson Skinner, who witnessed many of these falseface ceremonies, described how, on one occasion, he was visiting the home of an Indian woman whose daughter was a thoroughly up-to-date, typically American girl of the ultra "flapper" type. Suddenly, shouts and the shaking of rattles were heard, the door was burst open, and into the modernly appointed room rushed a number of the "falsefaces." Prancing about, shouting, and chanting, the dancers went through the rites of driving out devils, and then, turning to the bobbed-haired, short-skirted, rouged-lipped daughter of the house, they proceeded, quite as a matter of course, to go through the ceremony of driving devils from her. Unfortunately Mr. Skinner neglected to state whether the young lady was improved by the eradication of her personal demons. But it might not be a bad plan to try similar methods on many of our paleface flappers who show every symptom of being possessed of devils.

These are but a few of the many types of North American ceremonial dances which are so numerous that to describe or even mention all would require

far more space than is possible in a work of this character.

Among the Central and South American Indians we find very different dances and ceremonials, although many are prototypes of those of the North American tribes, and some are strikingly similar in many of their features, details, and costumes. The devil dances are conspicuous. Possibly demons are partial to tropical lands and find it easier and more profitable to find abiding places among the natives of South and Central America than in the persons of the North American Indians, or perhaps they are more difficult to dislodge. At any rate, devil dances are far more numerous and universal among the aborigines of these countries than in North America, and are conducted with more ceremonies and more drastic methods.

It is also interesting to note that, in many cases, the Indians have timed their demon-driving ceremonies to accord with church feasts, probably believing that by combining their own efforts with the holyday the devils will have no chance. Typical of such dances is the *Kukwa* dance of the Coclé Indians of Panama, which is held on Corpus Christi Day.

In this dance the Indians, who at all other times are industrious, civilized beings, wear weird costumes made of the kukwa-tree bark gayly painted in various colors in which Indian patterns, symbolic designs, crosses, and other ecclesiastical figures are strangely combined. Covering their heads, the Indians wear remarkable and grotesque masks composed of basketry frames to which are attached the

jaws and teeth of wild animals and deer or cows' horns, the whole covered with jaguar skin or kukwa-bark cloth which terminates in a long flap or tail hanging down the wearer's back. Armed with long-lashed whips and rattles, the dancers rush madly here and there, shouting and singing, leaping in air, and lashing everything and every one within reach of the whips in their efforts to flagellate and frighten the invisible devils.

Similar in many ways are the corresponding devil dances of the Andean tribes, which are also held on holydays of the Catholic Church. Here the Aimaras and Quichuas of Peru and Bolivia array themselves in elaborate, bizarre, and often gorgeous costumes heavy with silver bullion and embroidery, and don most weird and grotesque masks designed to represent demons, but outdoing the devils in their horrible distorted faces. Thus arrayed, and armed, like the kukwa dancers, with whips and rattles, the Andean devil dancers lash everything within reach, including one another, in their frenzied clean-up of the year's crop of devils.

Across the Andes, in the jungle districts of the Amazon and Guiana, we find devil dances of a far different and less strenuous type which combine the placating of good spirits with the exorcising of evil spirits. Such is the *Parasara* dance of the Caribs and related tribes which, with minor variations, is common to many tribes of the district. As in many other Indian ceremonials, the participants in this dance strive to render themselves unrecognizable by wearing costumes of palm-leaf strips which

cover them from head to foot and give them the appearance of animated haystacks. Instead of whips, the parasara dancers use drums and fifes, for the first stage of the dance is designed to please the good spirits and to lull the evil ones into unsuspecting helplessness.

Having gone through the ceremony, with its accompanying feasting, drinking, offerings, chants, and music, the dancers remove their costumes and hang them on stumps in their fields and on snags in the streams, the idea being that the costumes, having become purged of all evil spirits and made sacred by the ceremonies, will serve as talismans or charms and will prevent any devils from injuring the crops or causing disasters to voyagers on the rivers.

Although war dances, as known to the North American tribes, do not exist among the South American Indians, with the exception of the Pampas tribes of Chile and Argentine, ceremonials and dances which are symbolic of battle are common. Such is the *Maiquarry* dance of the Arowaks in which the dancers are armed with cat-o'-nine-tail-like whips of braided bark and huge palm-wood shields. Arrayed in fighting costumes and painted, the Indians go through the evolutions of a mimic battle, beating one another so unmercifully that the blood flows from welts and cuts, clashing their shields together, and carrying on until they drop exhausted from loss of blood and utter fatigue. Here there is also the element of endurance and fortitude, and the ceremonial is a combination of a war dance and a

test of personal fortitude and strength to prove the dancers' fitness to become warriors.

Very similar in its purpose and significance is the *balsa* dance or stick dance of the Guaymis and Boorabbis of Panama. In this the dancers array themselves in full regalia of feathers, beads, teeth and scalp-lock ornaments and paint their faces with symbolic designs. Each dancer wears the stuffed skin of an animal strapped to his back, an essential detail, for the stick dance is a most strenuous affair which makes college football seem tame by comparison.

A number of the dancers carry drums, cow-horn trumpets, fifes, rattles, and whistles, while others are armed with stout, sharp-pointed wooden staffs six or seven feet in length and several inches in diameter. As the music strikes up, a man commences to dance and leap about while his partner, also leaping about, poises his staff, and, awaiting an opportune moment, hurls it at the dancer. The object is to knock the dancing man over, preferably by striking his legs. This is by no means as easy as it seems, for the Indians have become marvelously expert at dodging the hurtling missile. If the dancer succeeds in dodging the blow he has the privilege of throwing the stick at the other fellow, whereas, if he is struck or bowled over, he must continue to serve as a target until he manages to dodge the staff successfully.

Needless to say, with twenty to a hundred Indians taking part in this ceremony, all frenzied with excitement and with scores of the pointed staffs hurt-

ling about in the crowd, casualties are numerous and the dance is no place for a weakling. But while bruised, cut, and broken limbs are all a part of the festivities, serious injuries are rare, for the stuffed skin on the dancer's back protects the spine and other vulnerable parts of the body from severe blows.

Although the stick dance is nowadays more in the nature of a recreation or game than a ceremonial affair, yet it is always a part of these Indians' religious and other ceremonials. It is also held as a contest of skill and endurance between members of different villages which have their champions and experts who go from place to place challenging others.

Unquestionably the stick dance was originally in the nature of a war dance, the sticks representing throwing spears; and in old Spanish writings we find mention of the dance being held before battles. But it also has the elements of the manhood-test type of ceremonial and is most interestingly reminiscent of the ancient jousts or tournaments of the European knights.

Corresponding to buffalo and similar dances of the North American tribes, we find various animal dances among the South American Indians. The Akawoias and other tribes are particularly fond of such ceremonials and hold them at frequent intervals. They have none of the sanguinary or painful features of war or endurance dances but are joyous and hilarious affairs, often highly ludicrous.

In the Akawoia dance, the participants are ar-

rayed in their most magnificent feather crowns, their gaudy feather bobs, their most elaborate necklaces of teeth, and their finest beadwork, for in this dance the participants desire to be seen, recognized, and admired, instead of wishing to hide their identities by means of disguises. Each dancer selects some particular bird, quadruped, or other animal, which may or may not be his clan totem. He carries a long trumpet or flute decorated with paint and tufts of feathers and dyed fibers. To the end of this is fastened a roughly carved wooden figure of the creature the dancer represents.

To the music of drums, rattles, and fifes, and the incantations of the peaiman or medicine man, the dancers prance around and around, each blowing lustily on his trumpet and striving to imitate, in actions and cries, the creature he has chosen. Those who represent such things as birds, jaguars, monkeys, etc., have an easy time of it; but the dancers who have selected turtles, armadillos, or lizards find it hard enough and cause endless amusement and uproarous hilarity on the part of the audience. Imagine, if you can, a feather-bedecked, painted Indian dancer writhing or crawling about the ground as he mimics the movements of a snake or lizard, or trying to produce a sound in imitation of a turtle or an armadillo.

The object of the dance is, of course, to placate the spirits of the various birds and beasts the Indians must destroy, to insure success in hunting, and to provide for an abundance of game. And

here the proxy idea, which I have mentioned in a previous chapter, comes into play.

Quite distinct from any of the ceremonials mentioned are the religious dances of the Indians, an excellent example of which is the ghost dance of the North American Sioux and other tribes. Sometimes these are held to speed departing spirits on their way; at other times they are connected with marriage ceremonies; and at other times they are a propitiation to the gods and spirits, or are in the nature of prayers, or are similar in purpose to our revivals.

These are all sacred or holy affairs and are usually zealously guarded by the Indians who seldom permit an outsider to witness the ceremonies. As examples of such dances, I may mention the *Wahnoo* dance of the Caribs, which is held after the death of a member of the tribe, and the ceremonial dance which I have described in connection with the Guaymis in Chapter V. In many cases these ceremonials are considered so sacred that even the common or nonelect members of the tribe are barred out.

Many tribes will not permit any women to witness the ceremonies under pain of death. Such is the case with the *Jurapari* dance of the Amazon forest Indians. This is, in a way, in the nature of a harvest dance. It is so sacred and secret that the musical instruments used during the ceremonies are kept hidden from human sight in the rivers until used, and immediately thereafter are again buried under the waters. Moreover, as each of these huge Panpipes is supposed to represent a spirit, its name

must never be uttered. During the ceremonies all women are driven away to a secluded, distant spot in the forest and are there placed under guard. Evidently the Indians are well aware of the extent of woman's curiosity and know that even the penalty of death will not always prevent a woman from playing the Peeping Tom.

I have already stated that some Indian dances were largely if not wholly of a recreational nature, although undoubtedly at one time they had their symbolic purpose or their significance. Among such may be classed the curious and interesting *Bimiti* of several jungle tribes of South America, which always follows the Parasara or some other ceremonial as a sort of grand finale. In the Bimiti, a large trough of paiwarrie liquor plays an important part. At some distance from this the participants line up, a double row of women and onlookers forming a lane to the trough of liquor. At a given signal the men dash forward, each striving to reach the trough first. The winner has the somewhat doubtful privilege of bathing in the liquor and drinking his fill before the others are served.

As the runners dash down the human lane, women and girls shout encouragement to their favorites and throw red pepper into the faces of the others. As a result every contestant is sneezing and half blinded and all stumble, trip, and roll in a confused mass, often tumbling together into the trough of paiwarrie.

Then follows a wild, hilarious orgy in which men, women, and children dance and drink in turn. When

at last the trough is drained dry all sink exhausted and befuddled with liquor.

Frequently, especially in the past, quarrels and fights started in which some half-drunken Indian would kill another. This resulted in the Kenaima or blood avenger, and brought in its wake numerous family and tribal feuds, until at times entire tribes were wiped out of existence.

The Bimiti is in reality more of a feast than a ceremonial, but it is not an out and out feast like the *Potlach* of our northwestern tribes or the Shawnee dog feast, which have no true ceremonial significance.

Just as we usually see fit to celebrate any event, from a marriage to a death, by a banquet, so the Indians usually drink and feast as a part of their ceremonials, though drinking and feasting are not always essentials.

Often, the beverages and viands used at ceremonials are made or prepared, or even grown, especially for the purpose. The same is true of weapons, utensils, implements, costumes, pipes, and even facial and body painting and tattooing. Frequently all such things are destroyed at the close of the ceremonies or are sacrificed or killed to prevent evil spirits from taking possession of them.

At other times and among other tribes, ordinary, everyday articles may be made ceremonial by certain formalities, which are akin to blessing them, or by marking them with ceremonial pigments. Thus the Caribs paint all utensils white when they are to be used in ceremonies; the Guaymis daub black

on articles for ceremonial use; and the San Blas and many North American tribes use red. Other tribes attach certain supposedly magical or mystical objects to everything they use in their ceremonies.

No white man, and probably no one Indian, has a knowledge of all the ins and outs of Indian ceremonials. Often the true significance of the affairs and of the objects used is known only to the medicine men of the tribe.

Just as we Christians go to church and follow the rituals without actually knowing the significance and meaning of what we do, and obey the prescribed customs as laid down by the ministers or priests, so the Indians take part in their ceremonies as their ancestors have done for ages.

Often the exact use to which certain objects are put is mere guesswork on the part of outsiders. This is particularly true of prehistoric objects. It has, indeed, become the custom for ethnologists and archæologists to class everything which puzzles them and whose use cannot be definitely established as ceremonial. This, after all, is as good a classification as any, for practically every article used by Indians has, in one way or another, its ceremonial use or significance.

CHAPTER IX

INDUSTRIES AND ARTS

WE seldom think of Indians in connection with industries or manufactures. Nevertheless there are many important Indian industries and many of their products are of great value to civilization and are in constant demand.

All Indians are clever artisans and wonderful imitators. They possess almost microscopic eyesight, a delicate touch, and a wonderful sense of color and form. Unlike the African who delights in the gaudiest and most clashing color combinations, the American Indian prefers subdued and soft tones set off and accentuated by bits of brilliant hues, the whole harmoniously combined.

In the old days, as among the more remote and primitive tribes to-day, the Indians made their own dyes and pigments from vegetable and mineral sources, and their colors were delightfully soft and very permanent. But those tribes in touch with civilization have found aniline dyes cheaper and more convenient than their own products. As a result, their art has suffered, and modern Indian work is much inferior to that of the past.

Indian beadwork is world famous. It is truly remarkable how all the tribes from the Arctic circle

to Tierra del Fuego and from the Atlantic to the Pacific have adopted the glass beads of the white man and have become experts in their use. Even the most remote and little-known Indians, who have never been in contact with civilization and have never seen white men, possess beads and produce excellent and artistic beadwork.

Beadwork is an art that has been developed and carried to perfection all within three or four centuries. But we must remember that, ages before the Europeans visited America, the Indians used many articles which served as beads. The glass beads, therefore, came to them almost as familiar things. Seeds, nuts, beans, teeth, claws, bones, shells, crabs' eyes, lizard and fish scales, and scores of other objects were and are still used by Indians as decorations. Often these articles were wrought into most elaborate and intricate patterns and designs such as belts, fillets, and other articles of apparel and adornment.

Moreover, long before they had ever seen glass beads of European manufacture, the Indians had learned to make beads of their own. Various materials were used for this purpose. Some were made of clay or porcelain, modeled, engraved, or painted; others were cut from stone. Beads of agate, carnelian, quartz crystal, amethyst, topaz, beryl, and garnet were formed by laboriously chipping the extremely hard stones into shape, polishing them, and perforating them with the crudest of tools. Many of these were examples of the highest degree of workmanship, and among some tribes the bead-

makers were expert lapidaries and established veritable gem centers.

This was the case with the little island of Montserrat in the West Indies where, in fields and ancient Indian kitchen middens, vast numbers of beads and ornaments of precious and semiprecious stones have been found, in every stage from the rough stones to the beautifully finished products. As none of these varieties of minerals occurs naturally on Montserrat, it is evident that the island must have been noted far and wide for its gem-cutters. Indians undoubtedly traveled from far distant spots to trade their wares for the Montserrat beads, probably also bringing the rough stones from their own lands. In other words, Montserrat was to the Indians what Holland has been to the white man, a spot widely renowned for its lapidaries.

Many of the cut-stone objects found in Montserrat are truly amazing examples of Indian art and industry, and could not be excelled by any modern workman equipped with the latest and most highly perfected tools and appliances. Most of the beads are cylindrical or barrel-shaped. They vary in size from a quarter of an inch to nearly five inches in length, and from three-sixteenths of an inch to one inch in diameter. Others are globular in form, some are disk-shaped, while a few are lenticular. All are perforated with small, perfectly drilled holes, and some are pierced by both transverse and lengthwise perforations.

Among them is a pair of pendants or buttons of quartz crystal of oval shape, one side flat and the

other convex. From the flat side of each, two holes are drilled in such a way, and at such carefully planned angles, that the two perforations meet perfectly in the very centers of the stones.

Many of these gems are elaborately carved or sculptured in the form of frogs and other creatures. In vain we puzzle our brains, striving to solve the riddle of how the long-dead Indian artisans worked such refractory substances and drilled and carved them so perfectly with the crude means at their disposal.

Many tribes used beads of gold, silver, platinum, copper, and other metals. These were often simple things, globular or cylindrical in form, and either cast or hammered into shape or formed of thin sheets of rolled metal. Many are of the most intricate and beautiful workmanship, engraved, chased, and highly ornamented.

Perhaps the most remarkable examples of the prehistoric Indian jeweler's art are a number of gold beads from Ecuador which may be seen in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York City. These truly marvelous beads are almost microscopic in size, and, to the naked eye, appear merely as tiny grains of gold. When seen through a lens they prove to be perforated beads elaborately carved and often composed of a number of minute pieces welded or soldered together.

How any human being could have made such tiny objects without the use of a lens is a mystery. Perhaps the artist who fashioned them actually used a crude magnifying glass made from a quartz

pebble, or perhaps he possessed abnormal eyesight. At any rate, no modern jeweler could duplicate the objects unless provided with a lens.

Among the tribes of our Southwest, and among some South and Central American and Mexican tribes, turquoise was the favorite material for beads. Vast numbers of beautifully worked turquoise beads are found in the graves and dwellings of these ancient people.

The most widely used and best known material of which the Indians fashioned beads was shell. On the Pacific coast the haliotis or abalone shell was the favorite; in Central America and the West Indies pearl oysters and conchs were used; and on our Atlantic coast the most widely used shell was the round clam or quahog. From these various shells, disk-shaped or cylindrical beads were formed by cutting, grinding, and drilling.

To our eastern Indians the clam- and oyster-shell beads were known as wampum. They were used for decorative work, for ornaments, and as currency. Woven into bands, belts, and similar forms, they served to convey messages, to commemorate treaties, and to record tribal events.

The various colors, patterns, and other details of the wampum belts had distinctive meanings as easily read or translated by the Indians as are printed pages by a white man.

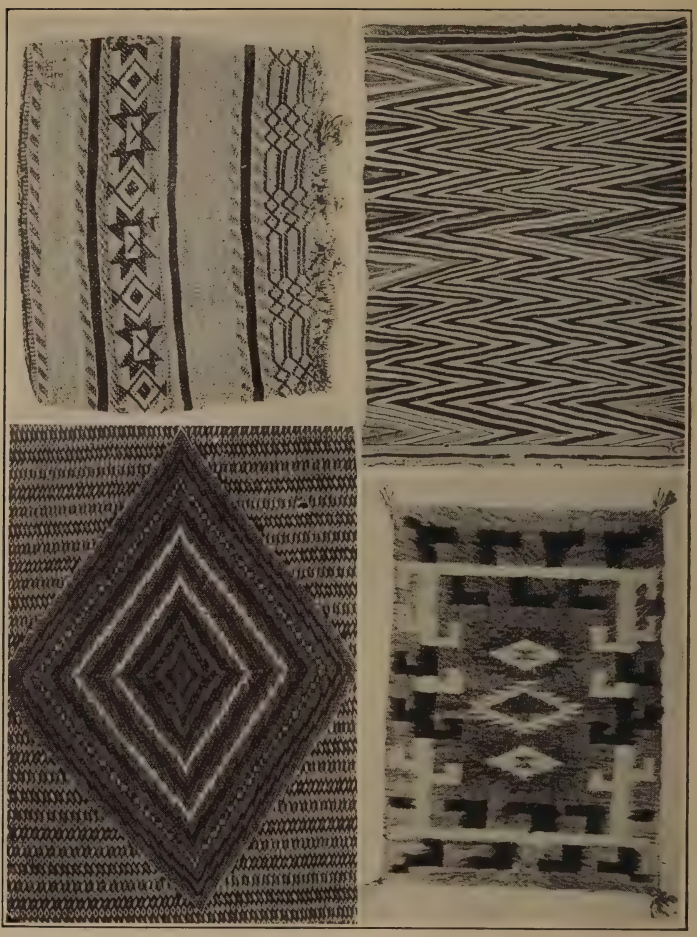
Although the wampum was made by the seacoast tribes, yet it was a highly important article of trade and found its way to Indians hundreds of miles from the sea. For many years after our



BEADWORK

Pipe Bag, Sioux
Beaded Bag, Yuma Indians

Bead Collar, Pima Indians
Bead Aprons or Queyus, British Guiana Indians



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

TEXTILES

Woven Bag, Menominee
Blanket, Saltillo, Mexico
Navajo Blanket
Navajo Blanket

eastern states were settled by Europeans, wampum was the standard currency of both Indians and whites. In many of the old documents and records of New England may be found mention of prices paid for various commodities in wampum. A contract made in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1650, provides that payment shall be made in sacks of corn or in an equal value in wampum of blue color.

From the very earliest times, Indian beadwork has been an important industry. To-day many of our Indians do a good business in beadwork and even supply department stores and curio shops with their handiwork. Although few persons realize the fact, Indian beadwork varies greatly in material, the method of making, the weave, and the design. Each tribe worked out and developed its own methods and systems of beadwork; each used the materials which were at hand and best adapted to its needs; and each had its own distinctive patterns, color schemes, and combinations.

Some tribes, such as our North American Indians, used fine sinews for thread and sewed the beads on buckskin or trade cloth. Most of the Indians of South and Central America used cotton, pita hemp, or sisal fibers for thread and used a groundwork of woven hemp or cotton. The Andean tribes preferred alpaca or llama-hair thread and used woolen cloth or felt for a basis. When no foundation was used and the beads were strung and woven into bands, belts, and other articles, some tribes used simple looms, others used merely

their deft fingers, and some used slender sticks or bone needles and crocheted the threaded beads.

Wonderful skill and ingenuity is shown in Indian beadwork. In the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, is an exhibition of this important Indian industry which is a revelation. Here we may see various types of beadwork from many tribes. Accompanying each specimen is a diagrammatic drawing, or a model, on an enlarged scale illustrating exactly how the specimen is woven or sewed. This highly interesting and educational exhibit is the work of Mr. William Orchard of the museum staff, who has made a special study of Indian bead-, quill-, and straw-work.

Oddly enough, whereas two neighboring tribes may have evolved totally distinct methods of weaving bead designs, other tribes, separated by thousands of miles, may have exactly duplicated one another's system. As the design of the beadwork is more or less dependent upon the weave or method used in producing it, there is often a striking similarity in the beadwork of totally distinct tribes who could not by any possibility have been in contact.

In weaving threaded beads into various articles, the patterns or designs must of necessity follow more or less straight lines, so that the figures are somewhat conventionalized and geometric or arbitrary patterns are the commonest. In embroidering or decorating material by sewing beads to the groundwork there is far greater scope for the worker's fancy and curves, natural forms, and other designs are more in evidence.

Our eastern Indians were very fond of elaborate flower designs. Many of the examples of Algonquin, Chippewa, Delaware, and other eastern tribes' beadwork are most elaborate and artistic representations of birds, flowers, leaves, and scrolls.

The western tribes were more partial to geometrical designs and conventionalized human and animal figures. The designs used by these tribes were often symbolical or told a story, whereas the floral designs of the more easterly tribes were usually wholly ornamental.

Although to a layman there appears to be little difference in the beadwork patterns of various tribes, to the Indian or to the ethnologist, each has its distinctive characteristics. Indeed almost any tribe may be identified by its beadwork. But, as is so often the case, the pattern of one tribe may be adopted and used by another.

This often leads to confusion and amusing mistakes. A Sioux pipe case in a shop window in Panama was greatly admired by some native Indians and, soon afterwards, unmistakable Sioux patterns began to appear in the native Indian beadwork. A Navajo blanket owned by a mining man in Peru was widely copied by the Quichuas. One embryo ethnologist who, tremendously elated, purchased some Quichua rugs, felt sure that he had established a relationship between the Indians of the Andes and our western deserts.

While visiting the Guaymis of Panama I used a cotton hammock made by the Arekunas of British Guiana. The weave of this aroused the keenest

interest of the Guaymi women, and they at once fell to work netting hammocks of the same weave. I have no doubt that at some future time some one who visits this tribe will find the Indians using hammocks of distinctive Arekuna type and will feel positive that a great ethnological discovery has been made.

Beadwork, however, appears to have been less copied and to have been kept more distinctive than other Indian art. This is partly due to the fact that the pattern of one tribe will not always lend itself to the methods of weaving used by another tribe. Partly, too, it is due to the peculiar conservatism of many tribes who will use only certain colors and certain sizes and forms of beads. Partly it is due to the fact that much of the beadwork has a tribal, clan, or other significance.

Certain colors are taboo among certain tribes, as are certain designs and figures, while other colors and figures have a magical, sacred or medicine value to the Indians. Thus the Akawoias will never use green but prefer blue, and the Arekunas are fond of green. All the Carib tribes are fond of using the monkey figure in their decorative work, but would never dream of representing the turtle, although their neighbors, the Arowaks, reproduce the turtle extensively. Among the Quichuas, the Andean goose is worked into innumerable designs, but no self-respecting Aimara would ever be seen wearing any article on which the goose is represented.

Geometrical patterns are universally used, as straight lines, squares, and dots in various combi-

nations invariably result in such patterns as crosses, Greek-key figures, swastikas, etc. Hence we find these designs occurring in the art of nearly every Indian tribe.

Even more typically Indian than beadwork is the quillwork of our North American tribes. For this work the Indians used the quills or spines of the common American tree porcupine. These quills are durable, highly polished, and flexible. They are readily dyed and are used in innumerable ways for Indian decorative work.

In using these quills the Indians employ many methods, each adapted to its particular purpose and the *motif* in view. They may be threaded and sewed on a groundwork like beads, they may be plaited and woven like basketry, they may be wrapped around thread and sewed in place, they may be wrapped about feathers, sticks, or other objects, or they may be woven into belts, bands, etc.

Clothing, moccasins, headdresses, pouches, bags, were often elaborately and almost completely covered with quill decorations, and even wooden and birch-bark boxes and baskets were frequently beautifully decorated by magnificently wrought quillwork. Very often this quill ornamentation is so fine and even that at first sight it resembles textile work. In many ways, it is far more beautiful and shows far greater artistic feeling and workmanship than the best beadwork.

Although still used to some extent, quillwork, as a leading industry of the Indians, is a thing of the past. Truly fine old quill-decorated articles are very

valuable. Though quillwork was known to a very large proportion of the North American tribes, the finest examples are those produced by the northern and eastern Indians, especially the Algonquins of New England and Canada.

Somewhat similar to quillwork is the strawwork. In reality, many a piece of so-called Indian quillwork is made with straw. In Mexico, many tribes produce remarkably intricate and beautiful results with dyed straw. Among the South American tribes, especially the Caribs, great ingenuity and art is shown in covering clay vessels, jugs, bottles, and other objects with plaited straw.

Strawwork, aside from straw embroidery, is, however, akin to basketry. Indian baskets are as famous and as highly prized by civilized man as is Indian beadwork. Although the quality and style of Indian baskets vary as greatly as in any other Indian art, yet with few exceptions all the American Indian tribes are expert basket-makers.

The materials used also vary, not only with the tribes but for the particular class of baskets made. In North America, willow, birch, and other flexible and tough splints are widely used for the coarser baskets, while bark, roots, grasses, straw, and other materials are employed for the better grades of baskets. In the West, tule reeds and other local materials find a place in basketry. In the tropical countries the lianas, bark, palm leaves, bamboo, and similar materials are employed.

Nearly every weave known to man was used in Indian basketry, and a large volume would be re-

quired to describe these fully. Roughly speaking, Indian basketry may be divided into two distinct classes, the one consisting of the various woven, plaited, or netted forms, the other of coiled forms. The former or woven type is, perhaps, the more widely used; but many tribes, from northern North America to southern Chile, also made baskets of the coil type, the straw or other material being twisted, bound, or braided into strands which were coiled into the basket form and fastened together by binding, lashing, sewing, or wrapping.

To the Indians, baskets were highly important, absolutely essential, in fact. They were used for carrying burdens, for receptacles, for sieves, and for innumerable other purposes. Many were so finely woven that they would hold water, and frequently they were smeared with pitch or bitumen in order to serve as containers for liquids. Still others served as molds for making pottery, the basketry form being coated with clay which was then baked, thus destroying the basket-work mold.

For strictly utilitarian purposes the baskets were usually plain. However, the Indians' fondness for art and decorative effect resulted in most of their baskets being woven in endless color combinations and patterns, each more or less distinctive of the tribe, and often of symbolic significance.

Even legends and myths, as well as stories of important deeds and events, were perpetuated by weaving the tales, by means of pictures and designs, in basketry. Owing to the mediums used and the limitations of the weaving, basketry designs

were more often highly conventionalized or geometric than otherwise. In many examples of Indian basketry we can trace every gradation from purely geometric designs to easily recognized animal and human figures.

Often several different materials were employed in weaving and decorating a single basket. Bits of colored wool or cotton string, hair, seeds, bright-colored beans, shells, beads, and other objects found a place in ornamenting the Indian baskets.

The most beautifully decorated and exquisitely wrought baskets are those of the Californian tribes. These are so finely woven that the weave is almost invisible. Into the strands are woven tiny, bright-colored feathers forming most artistic and beautiful color combinations and designs. Some of these baskets are so completely covered with minute, downy feathers that the basketry itself is concealed, and the basket appears to be woven entirely of feathers.

Not only were the baskets highly important to the Indians themselves, but with the advent of Europeans, Indian baskets became an important article of trade and barter with the white men.

Baskets are among the few articles which cannot be successfully made by machinery. While many white persons, as well as colored people and gypsies, make baskets, none have ever equaled or supplanted those of the American Indians.

To-day thousands of Indian baskets are made and sold each year in North, Central, and South America, and thousands of Indians depend entirely



TYPES OF BASKETRY

Pomo (Calif.) Basket with Feather and Bead Decoration
Apache Basket Tray Tlingit (Alaska) Basket Apache Basket Tray
Apache Basket Carib (Guiana) Baskets Apache Storage Basket



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

QUILL- AND BEAD-WORK

Iroquois Quillwork Beaded Pouch, Crow

Algonquin Quillwork on Birch Bark Tobacco Pouch, Sioux

Pipe Bag, Sioux

Saddle Bags, Cheyenne

upon baskets for their livelihood. At every summer and winter resort, at every curio shop, at every department store, and even in five- and ten-cent stores, Indian baskets are on sale. It is seldom, however, that really fine and distinctive Indian baskets can be obtained unless one deals directly with the Indians. In New York City there is quite a large colony of Indians who devote all their time to making baskets to supply the demands of local stores. In every market in South and Central America and Mexico great numbers of Indian baskets are always on sale. Probably, taken all in all, basket-making is and always has been the chief industry of Indians as a whole.

Next to baskets, pottery is perhaps the best known and widely used of Indian products. Though pottery was most important to the Indians, it is little in demand by the white race except as objects of art or decoration, or as curios. For ordinary uses, factory-made earthenware and porcelain are superior to Indian pottery, but there are certain forms of Indian ceramic ware which have never been supplanted by the products of civilization. Such are the huge, terra-cotta ollas, the carafes, and similar utensils made by the Indians of Latin America. These find a ready sale and a constant demand in the Mexican and Central and South American markets.

Like all other Indian products, pottery varies greatly in quality, design, durability, and beauty. Some tribes have never learned to produce anything but the coarsest kind of earthenware, crudely made,

fragile and roughly finished. Others produce highly finished, delicate, gracefully formed pottery. Some have reached an extremely high stage in the ceramic arts and produce vessels and utensils of graceful forms, exquisite color combinations, and thoroughly artistic and elaborate decorations.

As Indians had never discovered the wheel, and hence were ignorant of the potter's wheel, all their pottery was formed by hand. One marvels at the perfect symmetry and true circular forms they produced solely by eye.

Various methods of making pottery were used by the Indians. Some, as I have said, used basket forms and covered these with clay; others coiled strips or strands of clay into form and smoothed the surfaces, thus uniting the various coils; others used sand cores for modeling their larger vessels; and others molded the clay into shape by means of fingers, spatulas, sticks, and stone implements. Some used sun-dried pottery, others burned their ware, some tempered the clay with sand, others used broken shells, and others employed pulverized stones. Clays of various colors were used, and different shades were obtained by using various pigments made from minerals and other materials.

Although kaolin is abundant in many places, no Indian tribe ever learned to produce true porcelain as we know it. As far as I am aware, no Indian potter ever discovered how to give a really fine glaze to his wares, but many tribes approached very closely to porcelain in their ceramics, and gave

their pottery a slip surface which might readily be mistaken for a true glaze.

In North America, many of the tribes produced textiles, but the weaving of cotton, wool, or other fibers never became a highly important industry except among the tribes of our Southwest and some of the Alaskan Indians. The Navajos, Pueblos, and other tribes weave magnificent blankets, saddlebags, rugs, etc. These have become famed throughout the civilized world and to-day provide these Indians with a good income. Despite all efforts, they have never been successfully imitated by means of machinery. In the far Northwest, the Salish Indians, the Tlingits, and others wove marvelous textiles of bark and mountain-sheep and goat wool, etc.

In South America, textiles are the principal industry and the chief source of income for thousands of Indians. Among the Andean tribes, such as the Quichuas and Aimaras, and also among the Mapuches of Chile, textiles have been most highly developed. The Andean Indians in particular, have, of necessity, learned to weave sheep, llama, alpaca, and other wools into heavy cloth, blankets, ponchos, and rugs capable of resisting the icy winds and the driving sleet and snow of the high altitudes. For summer use, they weave light-weight woolen goods comparable only to the finest tweeds and serges.

Much of the Indian woven cloth is used by the Peruvians. It is in constant demand in Lima and the other towns where it is sold so cheaply that it is used for dust rags, sacking, etc. The finer grades

and the heavy woolens are also in demand by the white inhabitants of the countries. Being of the purest, hand-carded, hand-spun, and hand-woven wool, and retaining much of the natural animal oil, they are warmer, more durable, and more nearly waterproof than any machine-woven goods.

In addition to their cloth, these Andean tribes knit and crochet heavy woolen caps, socks, gloves, and mittens which find a ready sale in the towns. The beautifully woven and attractively colored rugs, ponchos, blankets, etc., always bring good prices and are for sale everywhere.

The poncho is universally worn by the Indians and by all white men who travel by horseback in western South America. It is the best and most satisfactory article that could possibly have been designed for its purpose. Many of the ponchos are of sheep's wool, others are of llama or alpaca, while the finest and most highly prized of all are of vicuña. In color these ponchos vary from natural gray, black, brown, or tan to the most flaming red, yellow, and orange. They are sometimes uniform in color, sometimes striped, or woven in highly decorative Indian patterns.

Even more beautiful in perfection of weaving, in colors, and in designs are the Indian rugs. These vary in quality from coarse, hard-surfaced, carpet-like affairs to furry-surfaced, downy, soft rugs of the most intricate patterns and harmonizing colors.

In addition to these, and the great variety of shawls, scarfs, and blankets, the Andean Indians

produce numerous kinds of cloths of such fine texture that one can scarcely believe they are handmade. Formerly all of these textiles were dyed with permanent colors made from roots, vegetable juices, ores, minerals, etc.; but to-day aniline colors are widely used, much to the detriment of the Indians' products. The best textiles are still Indian dyed, or are woven from natural-colored wools. Although numerous imitations are offered for sale and every effort has been made to duplicate the Indian textiles by machinery, these are so inferior to the real articles and are so readily distinguishable that the Indians have practically no competition.

In addition to their textiles, these Andean Indians carry on a large and lucrative industry in skins and hides, especially those of the vicuña, the chinchillas, and viscachas. They also manufacture immense numbers of bridles, ropes, and other horse trappings of rawhide and leather.

As a rule, however, the South American Indians do not use skins or leather as did our North American tribes. With the exception of the Andean tribes and those of southern Chile, the Central and South American Indians have little or no knowledge of curing skins, and do not even preserve or keep the hides of the creatures they kill. To be sure, the Indians of the tropical jungles have no need of garments of skin or other material, but there are hundreds of other uses to which leather might be put. Yet even those tribes who use sandals make their footgear from palm bark or plait them of palm

leaves instead of fashioning them from rawhide or leather.

Among our northern Indians the art of tanning and curing skins reached a high state of perfection, and Indian-tanned buckskin and other leathers are famous. To these tribes, curing and tanning skins was an important industry, as was trapping. Originally, of course, these Indians trapped and hunted and tanned the pelts of the various creatures for their own use. But with the arrival of Europeans, furs, skins, and tanned hides became valuable articles of trade and vast numbers of Indians devoted practically all of their time to these industries.

Another important industry, one developed subsequent to the arrival of Europeans, is horsehair work. Our southwestern tribes are particularly expert at this, but many of the Central and South American tribes are also artists at horsehair work and turn out most beautiful bridles and similar articles which find a ready sale.

Ropes of hair, cotton, pita hemp, sisal, palm fiber, and other materials; cotton thread and twine; and hammocks of palm, grass, and cotton are all products of Indian industry, and are always in demand by the civilized inhabitants of the countries where they are made. Hammocks, which are strictly Indian and were unknown to Europeans before the days of Columbus, are in universal use throughout Latin America and are largely of Indian make. We must not forget Panama hats which, sold throughout the world and known to every nation, are of Indian origin and are made exclusively by Indians

of South America. Similar hats of coarser grade are produced by numerous Mexican and Central American tribes.

In Panama, the Guaymis and a few other tribes find a ready sale for their woven pita-hemp bags or *chakaras*. These bags vary greatly in quality and design, some being loosely woven and some being so fine that they will hold water. While some are plain or are ornamented only by bands of color, others are woven in magnificent, typically Indian designs of black, brown, yellow, red, and blue. Practically every man and woman on the Isthmus carries an Indian chakara, and tourists from the north are enthusiastic over them.

A really good Indian chakara sells for from ten to twenty dollars in Panama City. The Indians find no difficulty in disposing of all they can make, although, of course, they receive but a mere fraction of the prices charged for the bags in the city shops. So great is the demand for these chakaras that imitations are now manufactured in Germany and Japan, and are shipped by thousands to Central America; but the veriest amateur can readily distinguish the genuine from the counterfeit.

Still another Indian industry of importance is silverwork. Among our North American tribes, the Navajos are particularly famed as silversmiths but there are many other tribes who are also adepts at working silver into ornaments and utensils. Even many of our eastern Indians were skilled at silverwork, while in Chile the Mapuches are the equals if not the superiors of the Navajos in this industry.

All of the arts and industries I have mentioned are of importance both to the Indians and the white men and are a source of revenue to the Indian artisans. But there are other Indian industries and arts which are carried on largely for home consumption. Among these may be mentioned feather-work, at which the Indians of most tribes are true artists; the making of paints, dyes, and pigments; wood-carving; and the wonderful *appliqué* cloth-work of the San Blas tribes.

Although usually referred to as *appliqué* work, as a matter of fact, the intricate and beautiful designs on the San Blas costumes are not produced by appliquéd patterns but are more in the nature of cameos. Instead of being superimposed, the multiple-colored figures are produced by cutting away the cloth.

In making one of these costumes, a number of layers of different colored cloth are stitched together, the number of layers varying in accordance with the pattern and the colors desired in the finished article. Then portions of one or more layers are cut away to reveal the color beneath, and the edges are turned under and hemmed with microscopic stitches. The result is a masterpiece of cloth intaglio. Oftentimes many weeks are devoted to making a single garment, the women working at spare moments and usually at night when, by the feeble light of flickering oil dips, they cut and stitch, producing results which are so finely and perfectly sewed and finished that it seems impossible that they could be the work of human fingers unaided by machinery.

CHAPTER X

IMPLEMENTS, WEAPONS, UTENSILS, ETC.

LIKE all primitive races, the American Indians used stone implements and weapons long before they learned the use of any metal. No doubt their prehistoric ancestors depended first upon wood and bone; but with few exceptions, all the tribes in America had learned to shape stone tools, weapons, and implements long before the coming of the Spaniards. Some tribes had even gone farther and used implements and weapons of bronze. Some who lived on islands, where no rock harder than limestone occurred, used sharpened and shaped sea shells and bones of fish, birds, and mammals.

Most of the tribes had developed the art of stone-working to a high degree. Many made beautifully finished arrow points of quartz, agate, and jasper; others excelled in their stone axes and celts; while others chipped or flaked obsidian into almost razor-edged knives, daggers, swords, and lance heads. For weapons they had bows and arrows, spears, lances, javelins, fish spears, harpoons, clubs, maces, throwing clubs, skull-crackers, axes, hatchets, mauls, daggers, knives, lassoes, bolas, blowguns, and boomerangs. Some tribes possessed some of these weapons and other tribes used others.

As far as is known every tribe of North, Central and South America used, and many still use, the bow and arrow. These weapons, however, varied tremendously with the various tribes. Not only did they vary in size and form, but in material, workmanship, power, and efficiency. Most of the North American tribes preferred rather short, broad bows of flat or nearly flat section, and short, heavy, well-feathered arrows. The Indians of the southern hemisphere went to the other extreme and used bows of great length—often seven feet long, fairly slender, almost straight, and of round, semicircular or squarish section, while their arrows were often six feet in length, very light and slender and either slightly feathered or not feathered at all.

Many of the North American Indians reinforced their bows with sinew or rawhide, and used sinews or rawhide for bowstrings. Many South American tribes preferred the strong pita hemp or even woolen or cotton cord for the same purposes. In the far north the Indians often used bows made of horn or whalebone, while in the extreme south the Fuegians and others used bows which were scarcely more than roughly shaped tree branches.

In the forms of their arrowheads there was also a great deal of variety. Nearly every tribe had learned to make heads or tips which were best adapted to secure the game for which the arrows were intended. For war arrows the lance or spear type of head was widely used. For killing large and dangerous game, long, keen-edged lancelike heads were employed. For smaller creatures the

tips were either the typical arrow points, spikelike, or merely the pointed wood of the arrow hardened by fire. For fish the points were trident-shaped, multiple pointed, many barbed, or harpoonlike. For small creatures and birds blunt heads were used so that the arrow would knock over the quarry without tearing its skin and flesh.

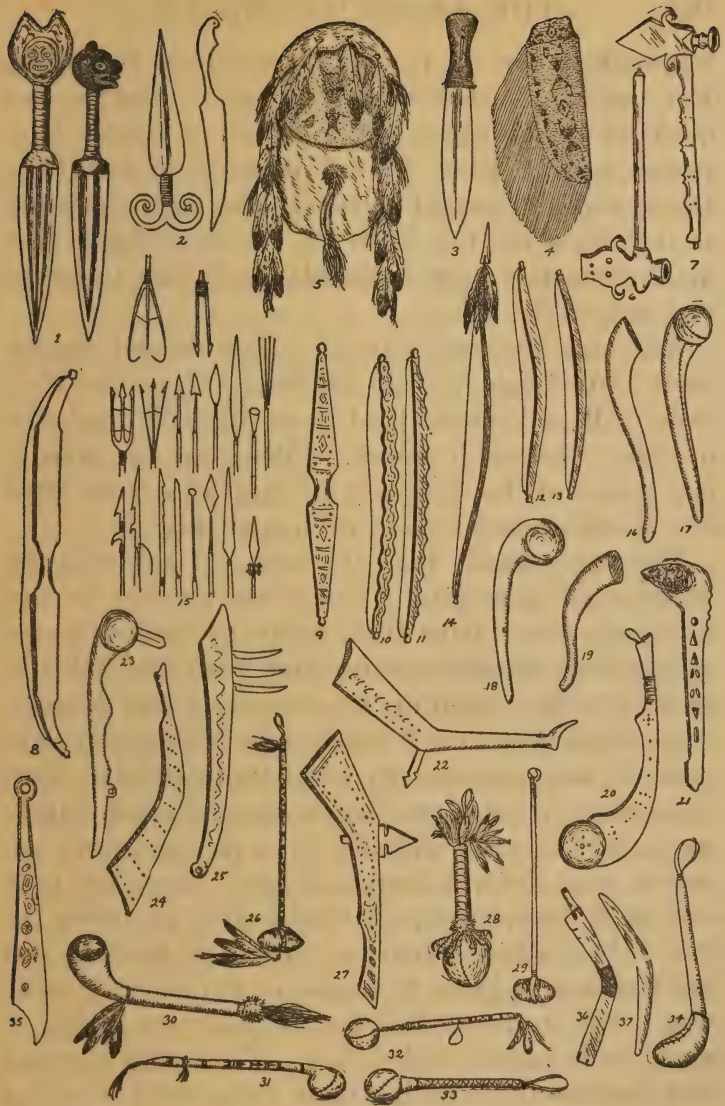
Whatever the form of bow or arrow or the style of tip used, the weapons were remarkably accurate and deadly in the hands of the Indian archer. Many of the Spaniards and other Europeans found steel armor did not protect them from the arrows of the Indians if fired at short range. A plains Indian could drive a buffalo arrow completely through a bison, and the South American Indians had no difficulty in killing jaguars and tapirs with their arrows.

Possibly the American Indians were never the equals of the famous archers of England, but they were and still are wonderful marksmen with the bow and arrow. I have seen North American Indians fire an arrow into a target and split the first with a second arrow at twenty paces. I have repeatedly watched the South American Indians practicing by firing their long arrows into swaying fruits attached to the tips of the leaves of tall palm trees; and I have seen a Central American Indian bring down a running deer at over fifty yards.

No English bowman could ever excel or even equal the South American Indian in shooting fish. To see one of these Indians standing upon a slippery, spray-washed rock in the midst of foaming rapids and shooting fish as they dart and leap in the churn-

Weapons, North American Tribes

1. Knives, Tlingit Indians, Alaska
2. Knives, Athabascan Indians, Canada
3. Knife, Modoc Indians
4. Knife Sheath of Beaded Buckskin, Modoc Indians
5. Buffalo Hide Shield, Osage Indians
6. Pipe-Tomahawk, Assiniboine Indians
7. Pipe-Tomahawk, Miami Indians
8. Bow, Quineult Indians
9. Bow, Korok Indians
10. Bow, Chippewa Indians
11. Bow, Chippewa Indians
12. Bow, Fox Indians
13. Bow, Penobscot Indians
14. Bow Lance, Sioux Indians
15. Arrow Points, Various Tribes
16. War Club, Iroquois Indians
17. War Club, Iroquois Indians
18. War Club, Delaware Indians
19. War Club, Cree Indians
20. War Club, Oto Indians
21. War Club, Cree Indians
22. War Club, Miami Indians
23. War Club, Fox Indians
24. War Club, Winnebago Indians
25. War Club, Sioux Indians
26. War Club, Sioux Indians
27. War Club, Sioux Indians
28. War Club, Sioux Indians
29. War Club, Wichita Indians
30. War Club, Caddo Indians
31. War Club, Apache Indians
32. War Club, Apache Indians
33. War Club, Apache Indians
34. War Club, Pueblo Indians
35. Sword of Bone, Kawkiutl Indians
36. Boomerangs, Hopi Indians
37. Boomerangs, Comanche Indians



ing, rushing torrent, is a sight never to be forgotten. Very seldom do they miss their mark. The arrows used for this purpose are, in effect, miniature harpoons, having loose barbed points attached to a string which is wound about the shaft and fastened to it. When the fish is struck, the shaft floats free and serves as a buoy to enable the Indian to locate and secure the fish.

Although the majority of tribes do not poison their arrowheads, certain Indians, such as the Waiwois of Brazil, smear the tips of big game and war arrows with wurali poison. Others use the poisonous spines of the sting ray for tipping arrows used for shooting large game or human beings.

Far more deadly than the bow and arrow is the blowgun or blow-pipe. This formerly was in use by nearly every tribe from northern United States to southern South America and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Even the Iroquois used this weapon.

In North America, it reached its highest development in the southeastern woodland districts. Two types were in use there, the commonest being merely an eight-foot cane with the internal partitions removed so as to form a straight tube. The other type was made by splitting a straight stick, grooving the two halves, fitting them together, and binding and sealing them in place by means of twine and gum or wax. The darts used in both types were strips of cane ten to twenty inches long. They were steamed and twisted in screwlike form to prevent warping and were feathered permanently by thistle down or cotton tied on spirally. As far as is known the North

American tribes never poisoned their blowgun darts.

In Central and South America the blowgun still holds its own. It has reached the highest development among the jungle tribes of the Amazonas district and about the tributary waters of the Amazon and Orinoco.

In size, workmanship, construction, and efficiency the blowgun varies even more than the bow and arrow. Many tribes, especially in Central America, use a simple, hollow reed straightened by heat and only four or five feet in length. Others use a short pipe made by forcing the pith from a straight section of the stem of a shrub or small tree. Still others form their blowguns by carefully fitting two semicircular grooved pieces of hardwood together and wrapping the tube thus formed with cotton, pita, or rattan.

By far the best and most accurate weapons consist of an inner-tube or barrel inclosed in an outer or protective tube of wood. The inner tube or gun proper is made of a straight, hollow reed most carefully selected and straightened until it is as true as a rifle barrel. This is often ten to twelve feet in length and is securely fastened, by means of gum and wax, within the stem of a slender palm tree from which the pith has been extracted. At one end a mouthpiece of wood is attached, and near the other end there is a sight made of two agouti teeth cemented side by side to the surface of the outer tube.

In these guns, darts made from the slender midribs of palm leaves are used. One end of the dart

is wrapped with a bit of fluff from the silk cotton tree, in order to make it fit snugly in the gun, while the other is sharpened and may be used plain or poisoned.

Before using, the tip of a poisoned dart is twirled between the teeth of a pirai-fish jaw, thus cutting a notch about the dart just above the poisoned area. This prevents the poisoned arrow from dropping to earth, where it might be stepped upon by a barefooted Indian, and also insures the poisoned tips remaining in the body of the creature it strikes, for the notched tip, upon hitting any object, will break off and remain where it strikes.

Such blowguns are extremely accurate and the darts can be fired with surprising force. I have repeatedly seen Indians bring down humming birds from the tops of tall trees, and I have seen the darts penetrate a quarter of an inch into soft wood.

In place of these darts some tribes use small clay pellets or bullets in their blowguns. These may be sun dried and hard, or they may be made from soft clay as they are required, much as the small boy makes missiles to use in his putty blower. These clay pellets are, of course, suitable only for small birds and other creatures, although they have sufficient force to stun a rabbit or squirrel.

As a sort of connecting link between the bow and arrow and the spears, we find the throwing spear with the throwing stick or *atlatl*. In times past the atlatl was widely used. Atlatls of widely varying forms are found in ancient graves, mounds, kitchen middens, and tombs from southern South America

to Canada. In general the atlatl was a slender stick from ten to twenty-four inches in length, widest in the center, and fitted with a hook at one end and a hand grasp or finger hole at the opposite extremity.

In using the atlatl, the butt of the spear was placed against the hook and held in place by one or more fingers of the user's hand, the other fingers and thumb grasping the handle of the atlatl. It was, in effect, an extension of the arm, and added greatly to the force and range of the spear when thrown, on the same principle that an apple is thrown to an immense distance by being impaled on a supple stick.

Among the Eskimos these throwing sticks are still in use, but as far as is known the only Indian tribes who still use the atlatl are the Guaymis and Bogenahs of the interior of Panama. The throwing sticks of these Indians are short, heavy, and rather crudely made with the hook formed from the same piece of wood as the rest of the implement, whereas the prehistoric and Aztec atlatls often had hooks of stone, bone, turquoise, etc.

There are two types of atlatls used by these Panama Indians, one with the hook on the upper surface, the other with the hook at an angle to the plane of the implement. But despite the short length of these atlatls and their crude form they are most efficient, and with them an Indian can throw a spear to an incredible distance and with amazing accuracy. Indeed, both the Guaymis and the Bogenahs prefer the atlatl and throwing spear to the bow and arrow in most cases.

The spears used with these implements are from six to seven feet in length and are fitted with various styles of points according to the game being hunted. They are almost indistinguishable from arrows, and are often used as arrows with a bow.

Many tribes use spears, both for throwing by hand like javelins and for stabbing. Several tribes, especially horse Indians such as our Sioux and other plains tribes and the Mapuches of Chile, use long lances.

Axes, maces, skull-crushers, and tomahawks are widely used both in warfare and for killing game. These may be of hard, heavy wood, of stone, or of metal and vary tremendously in design and workmanship. Many tribes of South and Central America use plain wooden clubs of very hard, heavy wood which are often elaborately carved and highly decorated with feathers, tassels, etc. At times such clubs are provided with a stone or metal ax head set in one or both edges. Other tribes, such as the Caribs and the Panos, use wooden clubs which are almost swordlike, while still others are content with bludgeons and others use clubs shaped like baseball bats and covered with projecting knobs or spikes.

Among the North American tribes stone axes and skull-crackers were formerly favorite weapons, but the Indians soon learned the superiority of metal over stone and adopted the steel hatchet or tomahawk. Many tribes, however, still retain the stone-headed skull-crackers. These have a double-ended stone head attached to a supple rawhide handle and are usually highly decorated with beadwork, scalp

locks, etc. They are terrible weapons and most appropriately named.

Maces of stone, very similar in design to the old European maces, were once used by many tribes, notably by the Incas, who made stone mace heads of annular form with numerous sharp projecting points about the circumference.

Knives and daggers of stone, metal, wood, and bone were used by nearly all tribes, but these were more in the nature of utensils than weapons. The trade knives of the Europeans very soon took the place of the cruder aboriginal articles.

Even swords were known to the Indians before the advent of the Spaniards. The Aztecs used swords of wood with edges formed of flakes of razor-edged obsidian; the natives of our northwest used swords of whales' bones; and our western Indians made good use of cavalry sabers taken from the troopers they captured or killed.

Slings appear to have been confined largely to the South American Indians of the Andean regions. They are found in the most ancient graves of Peru and Chile, and all the Andean tribes I have visited still use slings of exactly the same design as the Biblical sling used by David in his famous duel with Goliath. They are as efficient in the hands of a Quichua or Aimara as in the hands of the Israelite champion.

Probably the bolas of South America was originally an offspring of the sling. It has long been associated with the Pampas Indians of Chile and

the Argentine; but few people are aware that, formerly at least, bolas were used by our North American tribes and even by the tribes of New England.

The bolas in its simplest form is merely a cord with stone weights attached at each end. One throws it by grasping it at the middle of the cord, or by one end, and whirling it around, and suddenly releasing the hold. Many of these weapons have three or even four weights or balls.

When thrown by an expert they are very effective. Striking the legs of a running animal, they wrap themselves about the limbs and bring the creature helpless to the earth where he may be readily killed or captured.

It is stated that in their long and successful wars against the Spaniards, the Mapuches—or as they are more commonly though incorrectly called, the Araucanians—found the bolas an invaluable weapon. The Dons' horses being brought down, the heavily armored and therefore clumsy riders fell easy prey to the Mapuches' clubs and lances.

In southern South America the bolas is as much a part of the Indian's, and also the Gaucho's, equipment as the lasso is of the cowboy's. The lasso is also widely used by the Indians nearly everywhere.

Although many persons think the boomerang a weapon peculiar to Australia, yet it is known to many primitive races including the American Indians. To be sure, the Indian boomerang—or as it is known in the Southwest, "rabbit stick"—is by no means as remarkable a weapon as the Australian

boomerang. Its principle is the same, however, and among the various forms of Indian boomerangs are many which are strikingly like some from Australia.

In its simplest form the boomerang or rabbit stick is merely a throwing club designed to knock over rabbits, gophers, and other small game. There is every gradation from these crude weapons to carefully curved and designed boomerangs which, if properly thrown, will travel in a circular path and return to the vicinity of the spot whence they started.

In addition to all these types of weapons there are many which are hybrid affairs combining the features of two or more of the foregoing. Some of our plains Indians fitted a spearhead to one end of a bow and thus had a lance and bow combined. Others used an ax head or spear point set in one side of a club so that the weapon could be used at will to bash in an enemy's head or to cut a wicked gash. Pipes and hatchets were often combined. Knife blades were set in bludgeons, thus forming a combined dagger and club and there were numerous other combination weapons.

For defense many of the Indians used shields. Our western Indians made round shields of buffalo hide which were quite effective as a protection from arrows, spears, and clubs but were of little value against bullets. Many of these Indians believed that a medicine shield, which was a miniature shield supposedly possessing magical powers, was as effectual a protection as a regular, full-sized shield,

and they frequently went into battle carrying these toylike affairs.

Among the South American tribes, shields of various types were used. The Arowaks made large, rectangular shields of strips of palm stems lashed together. Although these appeared clumsy and ungainly, yet they were very light and the pithy wood served as an excellent protection from arrows and spears. Other tribes used shields of woven basketry. It is said that the Mapuches (Araucanians) formerly used round shields of skin much like those of our western Indians.

Since many weapons served also as tools, and vice versa, it is rather difficult to draw the line between Indian weapons and Indian tools and implements. This is especially true of prehistoric stone implements, for no one can state positively whether an ax head, hammer head, or other stone object found in an ancient grave was used exclusively as a weapon or a tool. No doubt they often served the dual purpose, although many were obviously designed for use as tools whether they were utilized as weapons or not.

There are also many which were apparently designed solely for ceremonial use, just as many of the modern weapons and tools are used solely for such purposes. Immense stone axes, which are far too heavy for any human being to wield effectively, are not uncommon, and were unquestionably ceremonial, as were numerous hammers, knives, spear- and arrow-heads, etc., whose form or size precludes their use for practical purposes.

Even the arrow points, so called, were not always weapons. Many of the smallest of these are so tiny that we cannot believe they were attached to arrows. In many places such miniature points have been found which were obviously used as drills. Among many thousands of stone artifacts which I obtained at Tal Tal in Chile were several short wooden drills tipped with such points, and partially drilled stones were found with these arrow-shaped drill points still in place in the holes.

No doubt many of the so-called spear and lance heads, knives, and similar objects were also primarily tools. Among the Boorabbis I found heavy wooden clubs which the Indians stated served both as weapons and as pestles. So, too, many of the South American tribes use clubs which are identical in shape with their paddles, as well as paddles which bear many of the earmarks of clubs, and no doubt could be used as weapons.

In addition to all such utensils there are many which were unquestionably wholly utilitarian. Such are adzes of bronze and stone, hoes, chisels, awls of bone, stone, and bronze; hammers and celts; mortars and pestles; pounders and scrapers; metates; and innumerable other objects.

Such things when made of stone vary greatly in form, material, and workmanship, and they were used from the earliest days of the stone age until the advent of the white men, and are still in use among many tribes.

Hammers or celts vary all the way from the crudest hammer stones, which are merely rounded cobbles

held in the hand, to finely formed and polished implements of the hardest stone which are designed to be attached to wooden handles.

Adzes, axes, and other similar tools vary just as much, and the same is true of scrapers, knives, chisels, drills, awls, etc.

The American Indian tribes did not progress equally on their road to culture. While some had reached the highest development in the art of fashioning stone implements, and some had even reached the bronze age, many others were still using rough cobbles and flakes of stone which bore little resemblance to man-made tools or weapons. Some never advanced beyond this stage in stonework, although they reached a high state of culture along other lines, such as woodworking, sculpture, ceramics, textiles, etc.

In the case of warlike or hunting Indians, weapons were all-important and were highly perfected, whereas among agricultural tribes, household utensils, agricultural tools, and implements for preparing food, harvesting, weaving, etc., were of far greater importance than offensive or defensive weapons and were developed accordingly.

Many of these Indians used wooden tools and implements in preference to stone and hence we find such a wide diversity of implements and tools that it is impossible to describe or even mention them all. Nearly every tribe, however, possessed mortars and pestles. The Central American and Mexican tribes used a curiously devised grinding stone known to-day as the "metate." It is in universal use among

the Indian as well as the Spanish population of Central and South America.

The metate in its simplest form is merely a flat slab of stone set at an angle. Upon it the corn is ground by rubbing and rolling with a spindle-shaped stone. The commonest form is provided with three or four legs, two longer than the others. Through a process of chipping or cutting away a mass of the stone, the legs are left as more or less conical projections which very often are carved to represent animals' feet.

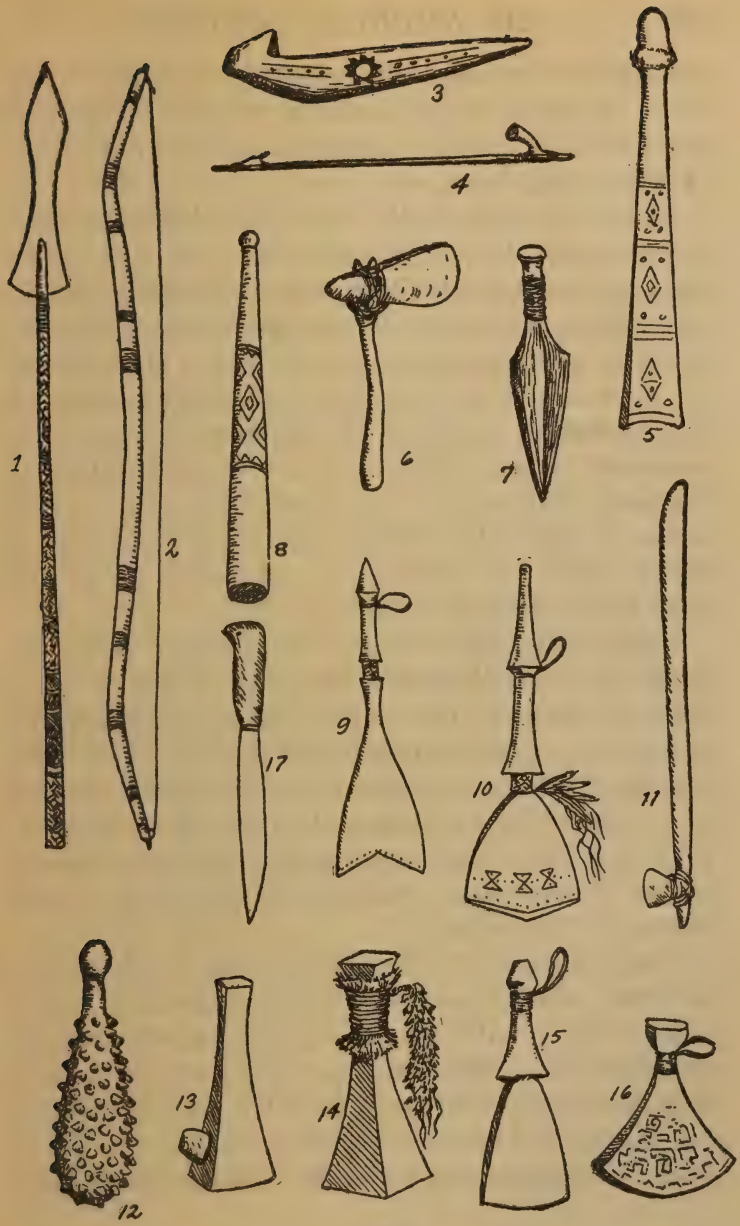
The metate may be very ornate with a sculptured head at one end and a tail at the other, or the entire circumference may be decorated by sculptured figures or heads. Many of the ancient metates were for ceremonial purposes and were huge affairs with most elaborate sculptures so intricate and fine that they resemble fretwork in solid stone.

Another form of grinding stone consisted of a stone tray, and the corn or other material was pulverized by rocking another stone back and forth. As far as is known, no tribe uses this form to-day; but the same method is used by the Shayshans of Panama for pulverizing cacao beans, a wooden slab or tray being substituted for the tray of stone.

As stated in Chapter II, no Indian tribe ever discovered the wheel; but several tribes came very near doing so and utilized the wheel principle in many of their implements and tools. Practically every tribe that spun hemp, cotton, or wool used spindles for spinning the threads. These consisted of sticks or shafts made of wood, bone, or other material and

Weapons, South American Tribes

1. Spear, Gaingangs (Brazil)
2. Bow, Gaingangs (Brazil)
3. Spear Thrower or "Natladl," Guaymi (Panama)
4. Atlatl, Inca (Peru)
5. Club, Mundurucu (Brazil)
6. Stone Ax, Jivaro (Ecuador)
7. Wooden Club, San Blas (Panama)
8. Club, Craja (Brazil)
9. Club, Arekuna (British Guiana)
10. Club, Akuria (British Guiana)
11. Club with Stone Blade, Gran Chaco (Paraguay)
12. Wooden Club, Pano (Bolivia)
13. Club with Stone Blade, Arowak (British Guiana)
14. Club, Carib (Guiana)
15. Club, Carib (Guiana)
16. Club, Wapisiana (Brazil)


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provided with weights so that the spindles would whirl or spin. Some of these weights were small affairs of clay or stone, while others were large disks of bone, shell, wood, etc.

Nearly all tribes also used bow drills, or twist drills operated by a twisted cord. In some cases these were provided with a large disk which acted as a flywheel. The nearest approach to the use of the wheel and, as far as is known, the only truly mechanical apparatus ever invented or used by Indians, is the mechanism used by the Guaymis for spinning horsehair rope. This is a clever combination of the bow drill and cotton spindle set in a wooden frame and provided with a large, heavy disk of wood which serves as a flywheel, the whole looking at first sight much like a hand-turning lathe.

Neither true saws nor files were known to the Indians; but the Mexican Indians used rough-edged flakes of obsidian for cutting stone, and nearly all tribes had a good knowledge of the use of sand for cutting, drilling, and abrasive purposes. Stonework was finished by rubbing and polishing, and woodwork was smoothed by scraping and smoothing by means of soft stone, sand, shark skin, or the rough leaves of a forest tree.

For capturing fish, the Indians used bows, arrows, harpoons, and spears, as already described, and in addition they had seines, weirs, drag nets, cast nets, and fishhooks. The latter were crudely made as a rule, being fashioned from shell, bone, or even stone; but many of the tribes who had learned the use of gold, bronze, or other metals made excellent fish-

hooks of these materials, many of which are identical in form and design with our own steel hooks.

For awls, the Indians used sharpened bones, shells, stone, horn, etc. Needles were made of bone, horn, or the sharpened and dried sinews of large animals and birds. Most of our North American tribes used sinews and rawhide for thread and cord, while the Central American and many South American tribes used cotton or pita hemp, and the Andean Indians used wool, llama hair, alpaca, etc.

Nearly every tribe possessed a knowledge of weaving which varied from hand knotting to the finest woven textiles. Regardless of the quality of textiles made, the looms were always of the simplest and crudest forms. Very often they were merely two sticks, and even the most elaborate rugs and blankets were woven on looms of the most primitive type.

For cooking, the Indians used innumerable pots, pans, ollas, jugs, etc. These were made of pottery, stone, wood, horn, hide, etc., according to the material at hand and the purpose for which the utensils were to be used. Earthenware varied greatly in quality and material, and ranged all the way from sun-dried clay to the most highly decorated and beautifully finished and artistically shaped pottery.

For utensils not designed for cooking but for storing or holding various objects, our North American Indians used boxes and cases made of wood or birch bark and often highly ornamented with porcupine-quill work. The Mapuches of Chile used hide utensils. One type of these is made from the skin of a cow's udder with the dried teats serving as legs; the

Canoes

1. Reed Balsa, Siri Indians, Mexico
2. Balsa, Klamath Indians, California
3. Balsa, Quichua Indians, Lake Titicaca
4. Dugout, Northern Algonquins
5. Dugout, Chippewa Indians, Canada
6. Dugout, Delaware Indians
7. Dugout, Squamish Indians
8. Dugout, Dwaimish Indians
9. Dugout, Menomini Indians
10. Dugout, Korok Indians
11. Dugout, Arowak Indians, Guiana
12. Dugout, Chokoi Indians, Colombia
13. Dugout, Carib Indians, West Indies
14. Dugout, San Blas Indians, Panama
15. Woodskin of Bark, Akawoia Indians, British Guiana
16. Birch Canoe, Slave Indians, Northwest Canada
17. Birch Canoe, Chippewa Indians, Canada
18. Birch Canoe, Kutenai Indians
19. Birch Canoe, Montegnais, Eastern Canada
20. Birch Canoe, Penobscot Indians, Maine
21. Dugout Canoe, Waika Indians, Guiana
22. Raft of Sea Lion Skins, Chango Indians, Chile
23. Bull Boat of Mandan Indians, United States



other form is made from the skin of a calf or colt's head removed entire and dried in its natural form.

Baskets were also widely used as receptacles, for carrying various articles, and as sieves. Most tribes had developed basketry to a high state of perfection and artistic design. The Indians of California wove feathers and beads into their baskets and thus produced effects unequaled by any race.

For making fire, the Indians, before the advent of Europeans, depended upon friction. Many tribes used the bow and spindle or pump drill; others merely rubbed sticks together and many tribes in Central and South America still use this method. I have seen an Arowak woman make fire in a heavy rain in less than two minutes by rubbing a piece of palm-flower stem upon a piece of palm bark. But the Indians were always quick to adopt anything which the white men used, and flint and steel are now in use by many remote tribes who, apparently, have had no contact with civilization.

Although boats can scarcely be considered as weapons, utensils, or implements, still, as the Indians were, in many cases, so dependent upon their craft for hunting, fishing, etc., their boats may quite properly be included in this chapter.

Perhaps the most famed of all Indian craft are the birch canoes which, made by white men and covered with canvas instead of bark, are now known and used throughout the world. Each tribe of northern and eastern Indians who used birch-bark canoes had its own particular pattern and design, the best known and most widely copied of which are those of the

Micmacs, Penobscots and Passamaquoddy Indians of Maine. When properly made and handled the birch-bark canoe is a marvelously safe and seaworthy craft, capable of withstanding heavy weather far out at sea.

In their bark canoes the Passamaquoddy Indians of Maine go porpoise-hunting in the tide rips off the Bay of Fundy when the fishing smacks are double reefed. With one Indian handling the paddle in the stern and another standing with ready shotgun in the bow, the canoe rides the choppy, white-capped seas like a cork. When they run into a school of porpoises and one of the creatures is shot, both Indians will reach over the side of their frail craft and, seizing the porpoise by snout and blowholes, will drag the carcass over the gunwale.

It is a great mistake, however, to assume that all the northeastern tribes used birch-bark canoes. Far more tribes used canoes of elm bark or made dugout canoes. The New England Indians south of Maine and northern Massachusetts, the tribes of the central Atlantic states, the Iroquois, and many other tribes were all users of canoes hewn and hollowed from logs.

Indeed, the dugout in its various forms was far more widely used than the bark canoe, which was strictly confined to those sections of the country where large white birch trees abounded. The Indians of our Northwest made splendid dugouts, often of immense size and capable of long ocean voyages. The Indians of our middle and southern states used dugouts almost exclusively, which, although almost

semicylindrical in section and apparently very cranky, were excellent sea craft when properly handled.

Many of the North American tribes had no canoes of any sort. When necessity arose they made use of crude craft resembling the European coracles, circular tublike affairs of rawhide stretched on a frame of withes. Other tribes, especially on our western coast, used balsas or boats made of bundles of reeds lashed together, and like the round skin "bull boats," these served very well for crossing streams or lakes.

South of the United States, dugout canoes were the general rule. In Central America, where the craft were designed for river work, the canoes were almost semicylindrical in section and were often provided with flat, platform-like ends on which the Indians stood when poling their craft along the shallow streams and through rapids. For sea work the canoes were designed with fine lines, true boat-form section, and a good sheer to bow and stern.

Probably the best sea canoes of middle and south America are the Carib canoes of the West Indies and the San Blas canoes of Panama. The former consists of a dugout shell, spread by steaming, with the sides and sheer built up by planks lashed or pegged to the dugout gunwales. These boats will live through almost any weather and are still used as droughers or lighters in many of the Lesser Antilles. They are extremely fast under sail, are strong and buoyant, and will carry enormous loads. In these Carib canoes the first of the buccaneers voyaged

from Saint Kitts to Haiti and even raided Spanish towns and attacked Spanish galleons with success. The San Blas canoes, on the other hand, are completely dug out from mahogany or cedar logs and have high bows and sterns, resembling in form the birch-bark canoes. They are swift, seaworthy, and easily handled, and no matter how rough or windy the weather the Indians do not hesitate to make long sea voyages in their tiny craft.

In northern and central South America, where all travel is by rivers filled with falls and rapids, dug-out canoes of a very different type are used. These are sharp ended with spoon-shaped bows and sterns to enable them to slip easily off submerged rocks, and have very thick bottoms to prevent injury in the rapids. In addition to these, light, buoyant bark canoes are widely used. These woodskins are easily made in an hour or less and are used mainly where there are many long and hard portages, one canoe being abandoned at the foot of the falls and another made at the other end of the portage.

On the west coast of South America a very curious type of boat is used by some of the tribes. These boats consist of two inflated skins of the sea lion lashed together and provided with a rough platform of wood. Although crude and cumbersome in appearance and not capable of any great speed, they are very light, and are as safe and buoyant as life rafts.

In the far south, in the storm-lashed waters of the Strait of Magellan and about Tierra del Fuego, the Onas and Yahgans used crudely built boats made

up of odds and ends of planks lashed, nailed, or pegged together, and often with a dugout bottom. They are seemingly ready to fall apart, to say nothing of the fact that they leak so badly that constant bailing is necessary.

Finally, on Lake Titicaca, we find the Indians using reed boats or balsas identical in many ways with the reed rafts of our west coast. These Lake Titicaca balsas vary in size from tiny one-man canoes to immense cargo boats or lighters carrying huge sails. In every case they are constructed of bundles of reeds lashed together in cylindrical form. Two or more of these bundles are then lashed together, sometimes in double or triple layers, in such a way that the bows and sterns are slightly cocked up. Around the edges of the whole are low gunwales of reeds tied together. On the larger craft, a superstructure or platform of wood and even a tent, shelter, or cabin may be erected.

Thus we find that the American Indians, even before the arrival of Europeans, had learned to construct nearly every known form of canoe, and had boats which were sufficiently seaworthy to traverse wide stretches of open ocean. But they had never invented the true catamaran or the proa, and even the most skilled Indian boat-builders had not learned to use either keels or centerboards on their craft, nor had they hit upon oars as a means of propulsion. As a rule single-bladed paddles were used, where the waters were shoal the craft were poled along, and the Arowaks had adopted the double-bladed paddle. For sails, the Indians used skins, cotton

cloth, plaited palm leaves, or matting. While many of their craft were swift before the wind, none were capable of working well to windward or of tacking. Only the most daring of Indian navigators ever ventured intentionally out of sight of land, and then solely for the purpose of fishing or whaling, as in the case of the Indians of Puget Sound and vicinity.

CHAPTER XI

HOME LIFE, FAMILY CUSTOMS, RECREATIONS

IT is quite true that among many of our North American tribes the men look upon manual labor as beneath their dignity and regard their squaws as inferior beings; but there are as many if not more tribes where the men labor far more strenuously than the women, and where the women are considered not only the equals but the superiors of mere men. Even in the case of those tribes where the squaws are the toilers, each sex has its allotted and recognized duties and work, and the women would be the first to resent any alteration in their traditional status.

An Indian woman's tongue is as sharp and scathing as that of her white sister, and she is not one to be put upon or abused. Let any unfortunate male overstep the bounds of age-old tribal custom, or add more than the allotted tasks to her, and her warrior spouse will find his home far too hot for his comfort.

As a matter of fact few Indian women work as hard or as long or have as many tasks to perform as did our pioneer ancestors or our own farmers' wives. They are in charge of the household (as nature intended women should be); they prepare and cook the food, raise the children, dress and cure the hides and skins, make and mend the clothing, look

after the fires, and gather the fuel. They tend the gardens, make the baskets and pottery, and fashion the bead, quill, and other decorative work. When traveling, they are in charge of packing goods and chattels, erecting and taking down the tepees, and other moving-day duties.

Enough work and to spare, you may say, but we must bear in mind that time is an almost unknown factor to the Indian, that the women's hours are their own, that they are not obliged to watch the clock or listen for the noon hour whistle in order to have their meals ready on the minute, and that, as long as their work is done, it matters nothing when it is accomplished. Moreover, children are usually numerous about an Indian camp, and the little "Injuns" take as great a delight in imitating their elders as do white kiddies. Even a very young Indian can run errands, fetch and carry, and be of considerable help to his mother. Hence, despite their manifold duties, Indian women, even of those tribes where the men perform practically no manual labor, usually have plenty of time to devote to recreation, gossip, personal adornment, and similar matters.

As a matter of fact, the men, even if they appear to do nothing, have an abundance of duties of their own to attend to. They are the providers of the community just as the white men, before the emancipation of woman and her trespass on man's territory, were the wage-earners of the family. They hunt and fish, not for pleasure but as a matter of business; they tramp, paddle, or ride far and hard

in order to keep the larder well filled; and they bring in the game, often from long distances.

In time of war, and with few exceptions that meant year in and year out, they underwent constant hardships and faced death at every turn. They could ill afford to overtax their muscles or tire themselves with unnecessary labor and thus be unfit to meet and battle with a foe who might appear at any moment.

There were certain tasks which were theirs and which never fell to the lot of the squaws. No Indian would permit a woman to make his weapons; he made his own canoes; fashioned his own regalia, charms, fetishes and medicine, which were often closely guarded secrets which no woman could know. He attended to his ponies (if a horse Indian), his flocks, or other livestock, and he had his duties as a lodge member, a councilor, a musician, and a dancer.

But there was no uniformity in the status of the sexes of the various tribes, and no standard by which all could be judged. The division of labor and the social position of the women varied all the way from one extreme to the other, from women's being purely menials and entirely subservient to the men, to women's being regarded as superiors, relieved of all work possible, and given an important voice in tribal matters.

Even among many of our North American tribes, descent was by the female line and the ancestral tree was wholly maternal. Among the Central and South American tribes this was the general rule. To us, this system appears strange and most complicated

and confusing, for in cases where it is carried to the extreme and the male line is considered of no importance, marriage rules and regulations and family relationships are most complex and involved.

Thus, among the Carib tribes, a woman of one family may marry a man of another family, but she cannot marry a man bearing the same family name as her own no matter how distant a relation he may be. As the woman's father and husband will not bear her name she may marry her father's brother, her husband's brother, or any other member of either her husband's or her father's family. In fact she may even marry her own father as is occasionally done. As her children bear her name and not their father's, the latter may marry his own daughter or granddaughter or his brother's daughter, although he cannot marry his sisters' daughters, or his sisters' brothers' daughters, or even his mother's sisters' daughters. He is at liberty to marry his brother's wife's children or his wife's sisters or brothers' daughters. So, too, his children can marry into their father's family, although prohibited from marrying any member of their mother's family.

Naturally, where such customs prevail, women hold an important position in the community and are regarded as the social equals or even the social superiors of the men. They do not hesitate to perform their allotted labors because of their importance, although their work is by no means as onerous as among the majority of North American tribes.

The Indian of the tropics has a far easier job than his northern brothers when it comes to providing

food for his family. Game and fish are abundant, crops may be raised throughout the year, there is no necessity for preparing a supply of provisions for the winter, and, as a rule, conflicts with other tribes are few and far between.

As a result, the tropical Indian can devote much of his time to duties which in North America fall to the lot of the squaws. He clears the forests and prepares the fields for planting, he cuts and gathers the firewood, he helps cultivate the crops, he builds the houses, makes the boats, weaves baskets, makes his feather headdresses and ornaments, fashions his ceremonial costumes; he manufactures his weapons, implements, and tools; carves wooden stools, idols, and other objects; twists the cotton into thread, yarn, and rope; helps his wife or wives look after the children; and is not above cooking his own meal if necessity arises.

Indeed, he even goes the limit and, if a member of a tribe where the *couvade* is customary, he acts as a proxy for his wife during childbirth and of his own free will undergoes all the pain, travail, and inconvenience of the event, thus permitting his better half to go about her duties quite uninterrupted by the addition to the family.

This practice of couvade is a most remarkable and interesting custom and is common to many South and Central American tribes, as well as to some tribes of North America. In all probability it had its origin in the Indian's scheme to fool the devils and prevent evil spirits from entering the newborn child or the pregnant mother, the Indians believing that any par-

ticular devil who might be lurking about would be hoodwinked by the actions of the prospective father and would thus be decoyed from the expectant mother.

Whatever the origin of the practice, or however ridiculous it appears to us, the Indians take it very seriously and regard it as vital. As the time approaches when the infant is expected to make its first appearance in the world, the father takes to his hammock or his bed and goes through all the symptoms of labor, while the mother scarcely ceases her accustomed duties and pays no more attention to the delivery of her child than she would to any every-day event. Her husband, however, is doomed to remain a semi-invalid in his hammock, carefully nursed and fed by the women, until the allotted period of time for his recovery has passed, when he again appears as a normal male among his fellows.

Many a time I have had one of my Indians come to me and explain that he would be unable to work for a couple of weeks as his wife was going to have *pickny,* and while he lay in his hammock groaning, his wife would go about her duties with her newborn babe slung in its cotton carrier on her hip.

What a pity it is that we civilized beings have not adopted the couvade, thereby relieving our women of the throes and pangs of childbirth and letting men learn by experience what it means! But perhaps it is just as well for the race that we have not followed the Indians in this respect, for had we done so, race suicide would have been sure to result.

Among these tribes where the women are regarded

with respect and where both sexes toil at their various tasks, the females are, as a rule, the physical as well as the social equals of the men and they perform fully as strenuous labors as their mates. With them it is always a case of share and share alike and life is on a fifty-fifty basis. When traveling, the women carry as heavy burdens as do the men; when in canoes they take their turns at paddle or pole. Even when fishing the men are often accompanied by their women who are as expert and skilled in the work as are the males.

Between the men and women of these tribes there is a delightful comradeship, a true partnership which should be a lesson to our own men and women. Often a woman will accompany her mate on a hunt, carrying the game and gathering edible or medicinal plants as she walks silently through the jungles. Often, too, one will see an Indian girl or woman squatted on a rock beside a stream as she watches her husband shooting fish in the rapids, and gazing with something akin to adoration at her brown-skinned, statuesque mate.

And yet affection or love, as we know it, appears to be wholly lacking between the sexes of these Indians. A man chooses his wife not for beauty nor love but for her skill as a cook, her ability as a housekeeper, or a hammock- or basket-maker, as a helpmate, and as a promising mother for his children. Rarely if ever are the two demonstrative nor do they show signs of affection by caresses or other symptoms of love.

Despite the fact that the women have a part in so

many of their men's interests and occupations, there are hard and fast lines drawn, and women are barred from participating in many matters regarded as strictly pertaining to men, and vice versa. In a few dances women take part; but in ceremonials, in various festivities, and in councils no woman is allowed, save as a spectator or to pass around the calabashes of *cassiri* or other beverages. Neither is a woman permitted to touch or even to see a man's charms, fetishes, or beenas. But the women have their innings, and men are absolutely taboo at many of their conferences, festivities, and gatherings, and a woman's private fetishes and charms are just as closely guarded from male eyes or hands as are those of the men from woman's proverbial curiosity.

Curiously enough, too, although many of these Indians of both sexes are nearly or quite nude, mixed bathing is not permitted. In fact I do not know of any tribe where men and women bathe together. And despite their nudity, Indians are very modest according to their lights. A woman may wear only a tiny four-inch square of beadwork as her entire costume, but never would she dream of dispensing with it when there was the slightest chance of any one's being near, not even when bathing. A man who wears only a scanty breechcloth, a G string or less, would feel disgraced and terribly embarrassed should he be seen without his fragmentary bit of apparel.

Even more emancipated than the women of any of these tribes are the females of certain Central American tribes such as the San Blas confederation

of Panama. Among these Indians not only is descent by the maternal line, but the women are regarded as paramount. A man is the virtual slave of his father-in-law until he has a daughter. The women of the family own everything. A man actually owns only his weapons, his canoe, and his hammock, together with his ceremonial regalia and his personal fetishes, and he cannot sell, trade, or dispose of anything without the consent of his women folk.

Among these Indians women take part in councils; they have their say, and say it, in all important matters; they disregard the orders of their chiefs with impunity; and they are most carefully watched over, guarded, and protected by the men, who regard their women as little less than sacred.

We should not be misled into thinking that woman suffrage was confined to the Indians of tropical America. Among the Iroquois, women held as high and as independent a position as among the San Blas. As was the case with many tribes in North America, Iroquois descent was by the female or maternal line and the Iroquois women had a power even greater than that of the men. They were the owners of the land and of the family's personal property, they were councilors of the confederation, and at times were even chiefs or perhaps better, chieftainesses.

This old-time system still prevails among the civilized Iroquois and has often led to legal troubles and court actions. According to the tribal customs of the present-day Senecas, a half-breed child whose father is a white man is considered an Indian,

whereas if the mother is white, the child is considered white and is not allowed to participate in Indian affairs or to share in the tribal annuities. In the same way, in the case of marriage between Indians of the Iroquois and other tribes, the children are classed as belonging to the tribe of which the mother is a member. Almost the same conditions prevailed among many other North American tribes and many a mighty chief has been forced to bow to a woman's will, as witness the historical even if somewhat legendary episode of Pocahontas and Captain Smith.

It all depends very largely upon the tribal customs and traditions, as well as the political organization of the tribes. Where descent is by the female line women must of necessity hold a higher place in all matters than where the male ancestry is all important. If the chieftainship is inherited and relationship is traced through the maternal side of the family, the ruler's female relatives will have a greater influence in matters of state than his male relatives.

While we are accustomed to think of all Indians as ruled by chiefs who were absolute monarchs, yet, in the majority of cases, the chief's powers were limited and in important matters a council was held in order to reach a decision. Many tribes were almost republican in government, and chiefs and councilors were elected by popular vote and could be summarily deposed at the will of the people. Still others were socialistic and communistic with no true chiefs and with a triumvirate or council of men administering the laws of the tribe.

In many cases, also, a number of tribes, often closely related but sometimes of different racial stocks, joined forces and formed a confederation. Such was the case with the Aztec, Mayan and Incan empires, the famous Five Nations—(later the Six Nations) of New York State, the Powhatan confederacy of Virginia, the Sioux confederation, and many other closely united groups of tribes in North, South, and Central America and the Antilles.

Very often so-called tribes were merely subtribes or even clans, for like all primitive races, the American Indians were very clannish. Just as there was ill feeling or devoted allegiance between the various Scottish and Irish clans, so there were ancient feuds and ancient friendships between the Indian clans, even though they sprang from common ancestry. Instead of the plaid or tartan which denoted the clan of the Highlanders, the Indians adopted various birds, animals, or other objects as emblems or totems of their clans. These served as means of identification, as escutcheons, and as challenges to their enemies, and were tattooed or painted on the skin, woven into designs on clothing, carved in wood or stone, painted on pottery, or displayed in various other ways.

At times a clan might be nearly wiped out, and for self-preservation the survivors would be forced to join some other clan or even a different tribe. In the former case the clanship of the majority would in time prevail, and the clan of the refugees would become almost submerged and of secondary importance politically and socially. In the latter case a clan and the clan's totem would be introduced

among tribesmen of a distinct race and might in time serve to ally two very diverse tribes. In the case of tribes where the maternal ancestry was alone preserved, the women's totems would be the only ones to survive; if the male line was important only the men's totems were perpetuated; among other tribes both sides of the families stuck to their totems. A totem pole, a bead apron, or a carving may be a complete family history or an ancestral tree with figures and emblems of dozens of clans embodied in the design. Many tribes were polygamous and some were polyandrous, yet others were strictly monogamous. All of this led to a confusion of clans, totems, and relationships. Moreover, it is a widely diffused custom among the Indians to keep secret the true name of a person. A child's real name is known only to one or two people, often the godmother and the medicine man, and to the person himself, and on no account must the name ever be spoken or divulged, lest evil spirits learn of it and take possession of the nominee. Hence each man and woman will bear two or more names, one the true or secret name, the other the ordinary or convenience name, still other names or really nicknames being added or adopted in order to perpetuate some event, deed, or feat. Thus we often hear of an Indian under two or more distinct names, such as Falling Leaves and Many Bears, the one being the name by which he was known in youth, the other the name bestowed in token of his prowess as a bear-hunter, while his true or third name is never uttered or referred to.

This has led to much confusion, the more especially

Musical Instruments

DRUMS

1. Drum, Coclé Indians, Panama
2. Drum, Talamancas, Costa Rica
3. Drum, Bri-bri, Costa Rica
4. Water Drum, Potawatomi, United States
5. Square Drum and Drumstick, Korok, United States
6. Zuñi Drum of Pottery and Drumstick, United States
7. Chokoi Drum, Panama
8. Drum of Hollowed Log, Brazil
9. Tahltan Drum, United States
10. Carib Drum and Bone Drumstick, Guiana

RATTLES, FLUTES, ETC.

1. Rawhide Rattle, Apache
2. Rawhide Rattle, Sioux
3. Rawhide Rattle, Hopi
4. Rawhide Rattle, Cheyenne
5. Rawhide Rattle, Pueblo
6. Horn Rattle, Hopi
7. Rawhide Rattle, Kiowa
8. Rattle of Deer Hoofs, Kiowa
9. Wooden Rattle, Haida
10. Wooden Rattle, Seri
11. Wooden Rattle, Yaqui
12. Basketry Rattle, Arowak (Guiana)
13. Calabash Rattle, Carib (Guiana)
14. Basketry Rattle, Quilleute, United States
15. Buckskin and Metal Rattle, Pueblo
16. Shell Rattle, Haida

17-18. Bark Rattles, Iroquois

19. Rattle of Seeds, Arowak (Guiana)
20. Bone Flute, Carib (Guiana)

21-22. Wooden Flutes, Bella-Bella, United States

23. Wooden Dance Trumpet, Akawoia (Guiana)
24. Flute, Sioux
25. Double Flute of Wood, Haida
26. Wooden Trumpet, Cayapo (Brazil)
27. Whistle of Ant Eater Skull, Guaymi (Panama)
28. Flute, Kickapoo
29. Flute, Caddo, United States
30. Zuñi Flute
31. Flageolet, Chokoi (Colombia)
32. Clay Orcherina, Guaymi (Panama)
33. Clay Whistle, Taruma (Brazil)
34. Bone Flute, San Blas (Panama)
35. Panpipes, Various Tribes
36. Bird Whistle of Clay, Guaymi (Panama)





as the English form of a name may be identical among members of distinct tribes, even if quite different in the Indian dialects. But just as in olden days a man named John might be identified and placed by his clan relationship, as John McCarty, so a Many Bears may be readily identified by the addition of his clan totem, which might be a turtle, in which case he would be Many Bears Turtle or Many Bears of the Turtle clan.

As a general rule, an Indian regarded his clan emblem or totem as sacred and he could not kill or injure the bird or quadruped which represented his clan. In other cases, tribes traced their origin to certain beasts or birds, or to the intermarriage of man and other creatures, and hence held such birds or beasts sacred. Thus the Caribs claim to be the descendants of a man and a king vulture and as a symbol or totem they wear a tuft of the white down of the king vulture on their foreheads. As they regard the birds as sacred and cannot kill them but are forced to secure the down from captured birds, and as it is an exceedingly difficult matter to trap a king vulture, many of the Caribs overcome the difficulty by substituting a bit of white fur or the white down from a heron or other bird for the genuine article.

Very often an Indian will from necessity or otherwise be forced to kill a creature regarded as sacred. In such case he will apologize for his deed, explain why it was necessary and make offerings to placate the offended spirit of the dead creature.

Among many tribes it was customary to make pris-

oners of the women of tribes worsted in battles and to adopt these females into the tribe and marry them. As these captives seldom spoke the dialect of their captors this custom led to the strange condition of distinct languages for the men and the women of a tribe. While the women usually spoke and understood both dialects, the men were ignorant of the women's tongue, which was kept more or less secret and was taught only to the female offspring.

As among many tribes the struggle for existence was severe, and as aged and infirm members of the community were a hindrance to all, especially in time of war or when traveling, it was customary for many tribes to dispose of such useless members of society. They were seldom murdered or put out of the way in cold blood; but, instead, the Indians salved their consciences and left the matter to their gods to decide.

When a person became too feeble and helpless from age or disease to remain with the tribe, he or she was handed over to the spirits. Sometimes he was placed in a canoe and sent adrift on a river above a cataract, or he might be left alone in a tiny hut in the forest with a small quantity of food and water, the Indians arguing that if the gods wished the helpless one to live they would see to it that he did not go over the falls or starve, and that if he met death by the cataract or starvation it proved the gods desired him to die.

Fortunately for those concerned, and for the peace of mind of the gods, few Indians reached the stage where they were incumbrances. As a rule, the In-

dian came to a violent death through battle, wild animals, or accident long before it was time for the gods to decide his or her fate.

Despite popular ideas to the contrary, Indians as a whole are not long-lived. Occasionally an Indian lives to reach the century mark or more. I know one old Arowak chief who, if he has not died during the past year, is well over 110 years of age, and, when last I saw him, he was as stalwart, lively, and well as ever. But such are exceptional cases and from my own observations I should say that the average span of life of the Indian, taking those of North, South, and Central America together, is nearer two score and ten than the allotted three score and ten years.

Not only are Indians, in their native state, exposed to constant dangers from savage beasts, human enemies, drowning and other accidents; but they do not withstand serious illness, and, lacking antiseptics, often die of trivial wounds. Moreover, they are exceedingly susceptible to the white man's diseases, and measles, whooping cough, chicken and smallpox, tuberculosis, and influenza are almost invariably fatal to the Indians. Liquor, too, has played a large part in Indian mortality. Their own beverages contain a very small percentage of alcohol and must be taken in immense quantities to produce intoxication; but the fiery liquor of the white men, which is usually of the worst quality and rank poison when supplied to the Indians, plays havoc with them.

In his primitive state, and before he has come into contact with civilization, the Indian is usually sober, except for occasional sprees during ceremonial fes-



PIPES, IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

1. Medicine Man's Staff, San Blas (Panama)
2. Pipe, Wichita
3. Pipe, Wichita
4. Pipe, Catawba
5. Pipe, Penobscot
6. Pipe, Catawba
7. Pipe, Miami
8. Pipe, Winnebago
9. Pipe, Potawatomi
10. Pipe, Guaymi (Panama)
11. Pipe, Haida
12. Calumet, Oto
13. Peace Pipe or Calumet, Cree
14. Adze with Bone Handle, Quilleute
15. Adze, Salish
16. Bone Bank or Purse, Kurok
17. Stool, Talamanca (Costa Rica)
18. Stool, San Blas (Panama)
19. Stool, Carib (Surinam)
20. Stool, Shayshan (Panama)
21. Stool, Chokoi (Colombia)

tivities, and is moral and honest. He may consider stealing from an enemy a just and honorable deed, but he will neither lie to a friend nor steal from him. He is not the filthy, vermin-infested creature we find on the outskirts of civilization and about our Indian reservations. But with rum, white men's vices and diseases, and with garments of civilization, which are seldom washed and which afford refuge for vermin, the Indian becomes a dirty, degraded vagabond and soon falls a victim to the effects of his acquired habits.

Indian families as a rule are not large, and even among the remote and primitive tribes infant mortality is high. As a result, many tribes have completely disappeared and others are on the verge of extinction.

But the Indian is a born fatalist and believes in enjoying life while he may. We picture him as a taciturn, grim-visaged, stoical fellow; but he puts on this mask for the occasion, and at heart and at home is good natured, fond of fun and practical jokes, of story-telling and of games. He is a born gambler, and hence games of chance, races, and any sport on which he can bet are his favorites. Lacrosse, hockey, handball, battledore and shuttlecock, dice, cup and pin, hoop and pole, jackstones, marbles, card games, draughts, and innumerable games of Indian origin are played with the greatest enthusiasm and excitement. The children go wild over spinning tops, flying kites, and other juvenile amusements. But of all sports, the average Indian is most partial to athletic contests, tests of marksmanship

and endurance, for those are the matters upon which the Indian's existence depends.

Most Indians are fond of music. We always associate Indian music with the beating of booming tom-toms and barbaric discords, but much of the true Indian music is plaintive, harmonious, and appealing. They are by no means limited to the savage drum, shrill fifes, and shaking rattles for producing their music. Flutes and piccolo-like instruments are common; many tribes make *orcherinas* with exceedingly sweet and mellow tones. Panpipes are known and used by hundreds of tribes; instruments resembling jew's-harps are widely used; the Caribs and a few other tribes possess stringed instruments much like fiddles; the Aimaras have guitars made from armadillo carapaces; and among some tribes of South America æolian harps are to be found beside nearly every house. The white man's music appeals to the Indian fully as much as does his own, and to-day it is not unusual to find battered phonographs grinding out scratchy, obsolete harmonies in the most remote Indian villages.

CHAPTER XII

WHOM THE WHITE MEN FOUND

WHEN Columbus first reached the West Indies, he found the Antilles inhabited by many thousands of natives belonging to innumerable tribes, each tribe speaking a different dialect and having distinct customs and habits. When, later, the Spaniards reached the mainland and cruised along the shores of Central and South America, they found Indians everywhere, and the great number of tribes and the multiplicity of dialects were a never ending source of wonder to the Europeans.

The same was true of the aborigines whom the British, French, and Dutch found inhabiting the coastal districts of North America from Florida to Labrador. Wherever they went they met Indians who were divided into many tribes and subtribes, and who spoke many different tongues. All were alike in one respect: all were uncivilized. All were primitive, all used stone tools and weapons, and although some were agricultural, others hunters, others fishermen, although some were peaceful and timid and others proud, bold, and warlike, yet all were, broadly speaking, savages with no ideas of civilization.

When the Spaniards visited Mexico, Yucatan, and

the west coast of South America, they found Indians of a very different sort. Here were the Aztecs, the Mayas, and the Incas—civilized people who had reached a high state of culture, who had performed wonderful engineering feats, who had a knowledge of astronomy, who had written or sculptured histories, and who had built marvelous cities with imposing and magnificent buildings.

Still later, when the European explorers penetrated the western plains and deserts of North America, they met thousands of Indians who were, even to the unobservant eyes of the adventurers, very different from those of the east, of the Antilles, or of tropical America. Many of these were nomads, wandering from place to place, subsisting by hunting and possessing a far more independent and warlike nature than the eastern and southern tribes, but like them divided into many tribes and speaking many dialects.

Finally, in the Southwest, the Europeans found the industrious, peaceful Pueblos with their many-storied adobe towns. They formed, as it were, a sort of connecting link between the roving, primitive tribes of North America and the civilized Indians of Mexico.

In nearly every case the Europeans were welcomed by the Indians, who showed every sign of friendship, presented the newcomers with gifts, treated them hospitably, and often regarded them with the reverence due to gods or supernatural beings. But the Europeans soon found that Indians varied as much in temperament and character as in languages and

other matters. The natives of the Bahamas, whom Columbus first met, were gentle, timid people who bowed themselves before the Spaniards and fairly groveled at their feet. In Santo Domingo and Cuba the natives, although friendly, were far more independent and proud and were inclined to be suspicious of the newcomers, and in the Lesser Antilles the fierce, cannibal Caribs would have nothing to do with the white men and, taking to the woods, kept away from the Dons whenever possible.

The Spaniards, however, were far more interested in securing gold and other riches than in the study of ethnology, and while their wonder was aroused at sight of these new people and the many marvelous and new things they constantly found, and while they often mentioned the Indians and their ways in their writings, yet they left no detailed or complete records of their observations.

Regardless of how the Indians treated them, they treated all the aborigines alike. When Columbus and the others required interpreters they helped themselves to the natives and carried them off as captives, and wherever they went they took what they desired from the Indians, enslaved them, and destroyed them without mercy. Even the civilized races did not escape the rapacity of the Europeans. Their cities were sacked, their kings murdered, their people enslaved, and their records, histories, and everything else were ruthlessly destroyed.

As a result, many tribes were completely wiped out within a few years after the discovery of America, and we know very little about the races, the num-

ber of Indians, the customs of the aborigines, or the dialects, as they existed at the time the Europeans first overran the New World. Countless records, journals, diaries, and accounts written by the early discoverers, by explorers, and adventurers, have been preserved. In many if not most of these mention is made of Indians and Indian ways. But such references are fragmentary, and owing to the ignorance of the writers, their erroneous assumptions, their carelessness and confusion in spelling Indian names and words, and their superficial interest and observation, these records are contradictory and are largely of doubtful scientific value. The same holds true of the British, Dutch, French, and other voyagers and pioneers.

Only when some unusual or particularly remarkable event occurred did the Europeans see fit to record matters in detail. Such an episode as that of Pocahontas aroused interest and was set down at length, and Captain John Smith, who was the central figure in that romantic event, was a far more meticulous writer than the majority of his fellows. He took an unusual interest in the Indians, and to him we owe much of our meager knowledge of the Virginian and West Indian aborigines. But even Smith was vague in many of his references to Indian tribes and customs, and often contradicted himself.

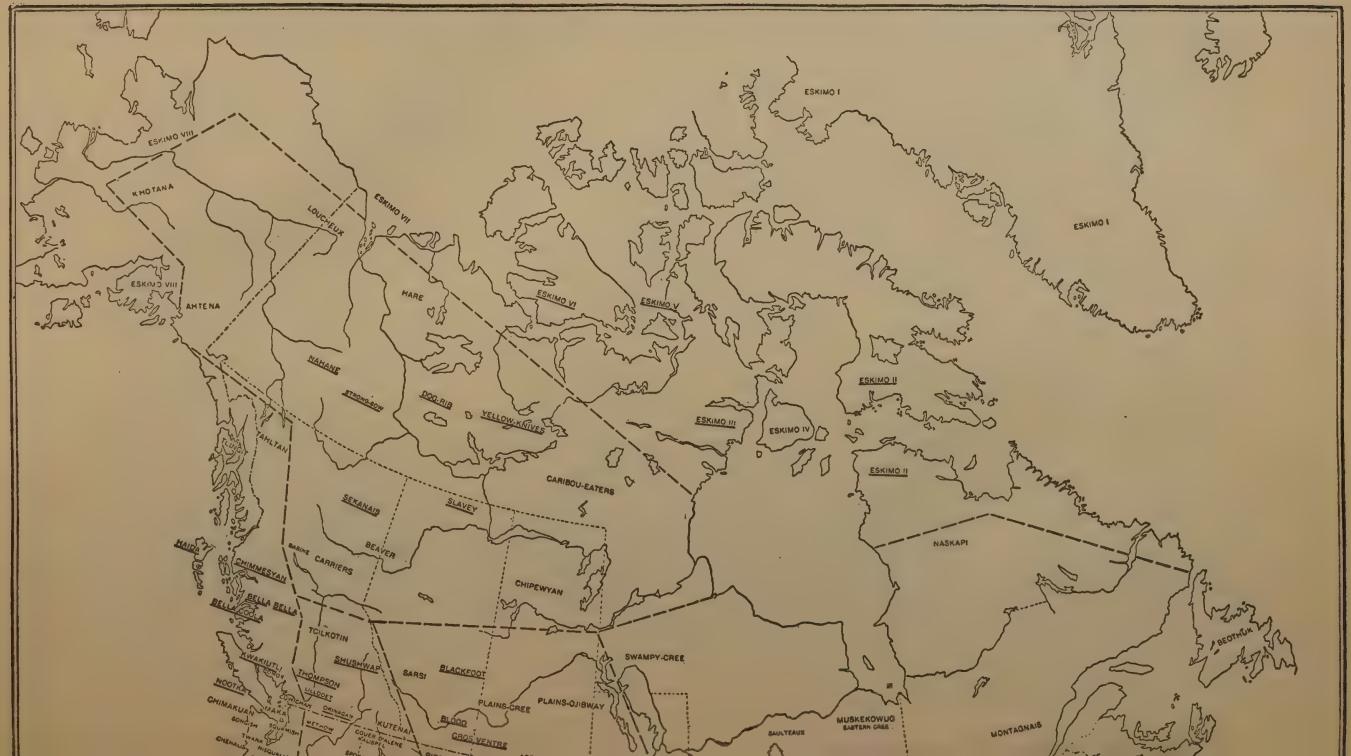
Sir Walter Raleigh also featured the Indians in his writings, but Raleigh was a past master of romantic fiction and was a most credulous individual. He wrote of headless tribes, claw-handed Indians,

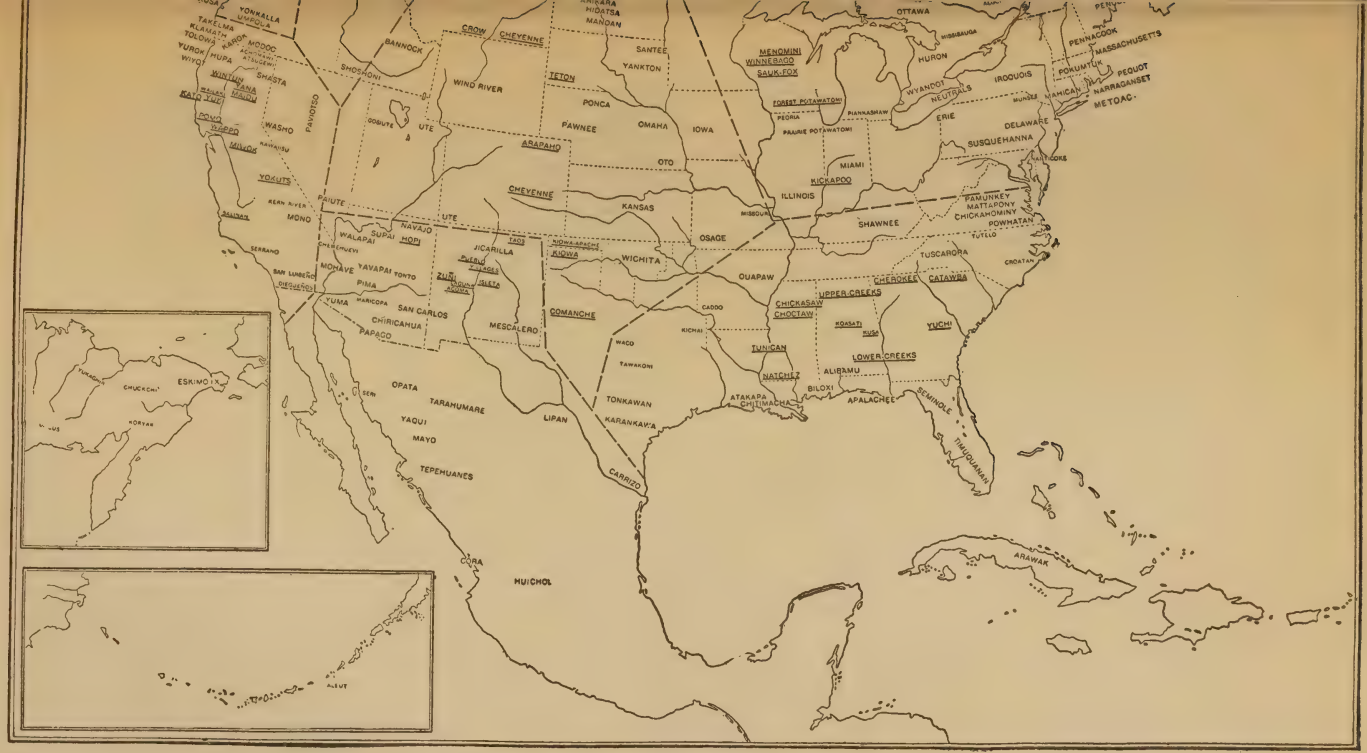
Amazons, and their ilk, and very little reliance can be placed on any of his accounts.

Many of the priests and missionaries who accompanied the early voyagers wrote voluminously of the "heathen" savages of the New World; but in most cases their point of view was warped, they were more concerned with the souls than with the bodies and lives of the Indians, and aside from the works of Las Casas, who was the best friend the Indians of the time ever had, and of a few other worthy monks, the records of the clerics of those days contain little of ethnological value.

Oddly enough, the men whom we would least expect to leave scientific records of the Indians were those who gave us the most detailed and accurate accounts of the aborigines. These were the early buccaneers, and in the writings of Esquemeling, Dampier, Wafer, Ringrose, and other piratical characters are detailed and reliable descriptions of many Indian tribes, their customs, habits, dialects, appearance, ceremonials, and other peculiarities.

Taken all in all, we have very little trustworthy information regarding the American Indians whom the white men found when they first visited the western hemisphere, or for many years thereafter. We know that there was a vast number of tribes, subtribes, and nations; that innumerable dialects were in use; that in character, physical characteristics, occupations, religions, beliefs, home life, customs, government, ceremonials, temperament, and many other ways the Indians varied tremendously. But we have no means of knowing how many Indians in-


ESKIMO I
ESKIMO VIII
KUTCHIN
LOUCHEUX
ESKIMO VII
ESKIMO I
ESKIMO VIII
AHTENA
HARE
ESKIMO VI
ESKIMO V
NAHANE
YELLOW-KNIVES
DOG-RIB
ESKIMO II
ESKIMO III
ESKIMO IV
TAHLTAN
CARIBOU-EATERS
ESKIMO II
SEKANAIS
SLAVEY
NASKAPI
HAIDA
BEAVER
CARRIERS
CHIPEWYAN
BELLA BELLA
BELLA COOLA
TSILKOTIN
SWAMPY-CREE
SHUSWAP
SARSI
BLACKFOOT
MONTAGNAIS
THOMPSON
PLAINS-CREE
PLAINS-OJIBWAY
BLOOD
GROS VENTRE
MUSKEKOWUG
EASTERN CREE
SAULTEAUX
KUTENAI
COEUR D'ALENE
FLATHEAD



DISTRIBUTION OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES

habited America or even any portions of it. That it was not by any means densely inhabited we may be sure. Vast areas were almost without inhabitants, and while many tribes have been completely exterminated since the arrival of Europeans, yet it is doubtful if there were more Indians on the mainland of North and South America than at the present time, although unquestionably there were more tribes.

In fact, the multiplicity of tribes at the time of the advent of Europeans was truly remarkable, for, even allowing for repetitions and confusion due to the Europeans' inability to pronounce or write Indian names intelligently, dozens of tribes were found dwelling in most circumscribed areas. Sometimes neighboring tribes were on friendly terms, others had formed offensive and defensive alliances, others had joined and had organized confederacies, and in some cases many related or even unrelated tribes had combined to form nations.

As a rule, each tribe was suspicious of its neighbors, and intertribal wars and conflicts were prevalent. This condition made it all the easier for the white men to destroy and enslave the Indians. The seemingly phenomenal success of the early Europeans and their comparatively easy victories over far greater numbers of Indians were largely due to the ancient enmities between tribes. The white men took advantage of these, playing one tribe against another, and usually making a clean job of it by killing off their allies once they were through with need of their services.

The arms and superior equipment and training of

the white men were not the greatest factors in conquering and destroying countless thousands of Indians in the space of a few years. Along with the European soldiers, sailors, adventurers, and others, came European diseases and vices, and these spread like wildfire among Indians. Diseases to which, through centuries, the white men had become so accustomed that they were practically immune, became malignant when contracted by the Indians. Measles, whooping cough, mumps, chicken pox, smallpox, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases killed the Indians off like flies.

Civilization, acquired by or forced upon the aborigines, did almost if not quite as much. The naked Indians, unaccustomed to clothing, their bodies exposed to sun and air, and easily kept clean, donned the cast-off garments of the white men, and became diseased, vermin infested, and sickly. Accustomed to an active out-of-doors life, the Indians, forced to labor as slaves or as servants, sleeping in kennel-like quarters, subsisting on strange foods and those of the poorest quality, pined away and died. And the strong alcoholic drinks of the white men stalked like specters among the Indians and brought drunkenness, debauchery, and death wherever they went.

As a result of all this, many tribes and entire races vanished forever so soon after the discovery of America that no one had time to record their ways, their languages, or their relationships, even had they been so minded. Only the strongest, the most numerous, and the most warlike Indians survived, and only by these, by the meager records left by the destroyers

of nations, and by the all too few remains left by the tribes who vanished, can we build up any sort of idea of the Indians whom the Europeans found when they first came to the New World.

Time, too, has wrought many and tremendous changes in Indian characters, habits, customs, arts, and other matters. It must be remembered that styles and fashions alter among Indians as among white races. At the time of the advent of Europeans, the Indians, where they used clothing at all, clad themselves in skins, robes, hand-woven cotton or woolen cloth, and feathers. Many of the northern tribes, during the severe winters, wore coats and trousers of skins with the fur on, and during the summer went partly nude. Others depended upon the soft tanned hides of deer, moose, and other animals, and wore well designed garments of this leather, and when the weather was cold added robes or blankets of skin, feathers, or fur. Farther south, the Indians had learned to spin and weave cotton, and wore garments made of cotton cloth. In the Andes llama wool was the material used for weaving cloth and making clothing.

Regardless of the locality, the tribe, or the materials used for their garments, the American Indians, throughout the length and breadth of the two continents and in the West Indies, almost without exception, were partial to feather ornaments and headdresses. No other race in the world was so universally given to wearing feathers and the Indians had become marvelously expert in feather-work of all kinds. Not only were feathers used as decora-

tions and ornaments, but also as regalia, as badges or marks of office, as indications of rank, as proof of bravery and great deeds, for ceremonial purposes, and as symbols.

Each tribe, even in the old days, had its distinctive feather headdresses, which varied in design, color, and other details according to the purpose for which they were used. Many of these are described in the old accounts of the Indians, and many are figured in old prints. Some are easily recognizable and are similar to those used to-day, but many are totally different from any of the present time. No doubt most of these old pictures were made by artists who had never seen an Indian, and who worked wholly from descriptions and imagination and hence depicted costumes which never existed. But Indian fashions changed, and a tribe might use one type of costume and feather headdress one year and quite a different style the next. Hence we cannot say positively just what costumes were or were not worn at any given period in Indian history.

There is no doubt that the customs and costumes, as well as the mode of life of the Indians, were greatly influenced and altered by the arrival of the Europeans. Trade cloth, beads, bells, metals, firearms, steel tools, pipes, and innumerable other articles of European make were bartered with the Indians or given to them as presents, and very rapidly these things found their way by exchange and trade to the most remote tribes, whom the white men had never seen. The Indians, partly through vanity and partly in an effort to please the strangers

and to placate the priests, adopted or imitated the Europeans' ways, habits, and dress. As a result, European influence became manifest among nearly all the Indian tribes. In studying collections of ethnological specimens it is easy to distinguish the alteration from purely Indian art to art obviously influenced by the European invasion, usually to the detriment of the former.

Even the manner of life of the Indians changed with the arrival of the white men. With steel tools and European example and influence, the Indians learned to accomplish many feats which had hitherto been beyond them. They copied utensils, houses, clothing, and even mingled the white men's beliefs, superstitions, stories, games, religions, myths, and customs with their own. Oftentimes, this wrought tremendous changes in the Indians' characters, mode of life, habits, and costumes.

Although at first afraid of the horses brought to America by the Europeans, the Indians soon became accustomed to the animals and learned to use those which escaped from the white masters or which were captured in warfare. Our plains Indians and the Mapuches of Chile, in particular, took to horses as a duck takes to water, and in an incredibly short space of time became true horse Indians, wonderful riders, owners of large herds of horses, and far more powerful, more warlike, and more dangerous than before the advent of the Europeans. In adapting themselves to the use of horses many changes in their methods, customs, dress, and other matters came into effect. In fact, the most characteristic

features and peculiarities of the horse-Indian tribes have been acquired and developed since the European invasion, and we can scarcely picture what these Indians were like in the days when horses were unknown to them.

On the other hand, the European settlers adopted many of the Indians' ways, customs, and even their costumes. They found moccasins and buckskin clothing the cheapest, most durable, and most practical of apparel in the woods and on the plains of North America. The Spaniards took to the poncho and the heavy woolen garments of the Andean tribes as readily and as quickly as the Indians fashioned gauntlets, gloves, skull caps, and hats in imitation of those used by the Dons. Indian hunting, fishing, and agricultural methods were followed by the white pioneers; Indian canoes became their favorite craft. They even followed the Indians' example and took scalps when they killed their enemies.

Many of the white men took Indian women as mates, or legally married them, and very soon half-breeds became numerous. Some of these reverted to the Indian life and customs, and soon became wholly Indian. Others followed the life and ways of their white parents, and in a few generations all traces of Indian ancestry were lost. Still more adopted some of the Indian ways and some of the white man's ways and were as much half-breeds in life, customs, and all other matters as they were in blood.

Many tribes which had been decimated by disease, oppression, or warfare, or which were too weak in

numbers to resist the whites, joined their forces with friendly tribes and completely lost their identity; while in other cases two or more tribes joining would retain the former names of both and would thus be known sometimes by one tribal name and sometimes by another. All of this led to endless confusion. Moreover, it very often happened that a tribe which had been hostile to the whites or had fought against them, would assume an alias in order to avoid recognition and reprisals at the hands of their enemies. At other times an Indian would declare himself a member of some tribe which was totally distinct from his own and friendly with the white men. Thus, after the so-called Bacon's Rebellion of Virginia, in 1675-77, the few surviving Rappahannock Indians denied their identity in order to escape persecution, and the tribe was considered extinct, although, as a matter of fact, there were many fugitives belonging to the tribe and the tribe still exists in considerable numbers.

But despite the wholesale slaughter and destruction carried on by Europeans throughout America, despite the ravages of disease and liquor, despite the intermingling of white and Indian blood, and despite the influence which the Europeans exerted on Indian customs, arts, industries, and life, even despite all efforts to Christianize and civilize the Indians, many tribes have survived, have increased, and have retained their solidarity and their independence, while still more have managed to retain their ancestral characteristics, customs, dialects, arts, and habits.

To-day, many tribes in North America and far

more tribes in Central and South America are living almost as they lived before Columbus landed on American soil. Many are as primitive as before the advent of Europeans, and many have never seen a white man and have never adopted any of the ways or few products of civilization.

Even where the Indians have been in constant and close touch with the white man, and are within easy reach of civilization, many still retain their ancestral ways. Though they may wear conventional clothing, though they may be Christians, may be educated in schools and colleges, may dwell in modern up-to-date houses, may have well-cultivated, valuable farms, and may even drive about in luxurious motor cars, still they hold their tribal dances and ceremonials, speak their own languages, and are Indian at heart.

CHAPTER XIII

INDIANS OF OUR EASTERN WOODLANDS

WHEN the Puritans first visited New England, they found the country inhabited by a number of tribes which to-day are grouped under the more or less general term of Eastern Algonquins, owing to the fact that these tribes all spoke dialects of the Algonquin language. Among these were the Narragansets, Pequots, Mohegans or Mohicans of the southern New England states, the Delawares or Lenni-Lenape of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the Nanticokes of Delaware, the Powhatan confederated tribes of Virginia, and the Shawnees of Kentucky.

To-day only a few scattered remnants of these tribes remain in their ancient homes, the majority having vanished forever, while many of the Delawares and Shawnees have migrated to Canada and Oklahoma. Of all these Eastern Algonquins, the Mohicans near Norwich, Connecticut, and the Rappahannocks of Virginia are the only ones who still occupy their ancestral homes in any numbers, and who retain any of their old mode of life and tribal customs.

All of these tribes were agricultural, and fishing and hunting were merely to help out the larder and supply hides and furs. Their fields, in which many

varieties of corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes, sweet potatoes, and tobacco were raised, were comparatively small, and their only agricultural implements were digging sticks and crude stone, bone, or wooden hoes. The tremendous task of felling trees and clearing the forest was performed with stone-headed axes.

Corn was probably their mainstay, and these Indians possessed practically all the varieties known to us to-day. Not only was corn eaten roasted and boiled on the ear, and as popped corn; but the Indians also prepared hominy, hulled corn, and Indian meal, using mortars with wooden or stone pestles for grinding the maize.

Depending as they did upon agriculture, these tribes dwelt in established villages and moved only when their fields were exhausted and firewood became scarce. This was in marked contrast to the tribes who depended upon hunting and were forced to keep constantly moving about as game became wary and scarce.

Still, the Eastern Algonquins were noted as hunters. In their pursuit of game they used flat, stout bows about five feet in length and of rectangular section, with three-foot arrows well feathered, indented near the nock to give a finger hold, and with heads adapted to the type of game for which they were used. For small game and birds the arrows were knob headed, and for larger game were tipped with stone heads or points of deer antlers. After the arrival of Europeans, these were largely superseded by points of metal.



INDIANS OF OUR EASTERN WOODLANDS

1. Eastern Algonquins
2. Iroquois
3. Indians of Northeastern New England
4. Central Algonquins

As weapons, they also used clubs carved from hardwood and with globular heads. These soon gave way to the trade tomahawks or hatchets of the colonists. For fishing they used spears, nets, rude hooks, basketry traps, weirs, and pounds. In wintertime snowshoes were used, but these were never so important to these tribes as to those farther north.

Canoes of birch bark were used, though sparingly, by the tribes inhabiting the northerly portions of their district, and elm-bark canoes were also used; but the typical craft of the Eastern Algonquins were dugouts.

Their dwellings were of three distinct forms: one a dome-shaped wigwam covered with slabs of bark, mats of rushes, or grass thatch; the second a rectangular gable-roofed house made of bark slabs sewed to a pole framework, and the third a rectangular house with arched roof. The typical Indian tepee or wigwam was not known to any of these tribes.

For household utensils these Indians had wooden bowls, ladles, mortars, and other things; baskets of many sizes and forms; vessels made from dried gourds; mats of woven rushes and a variety of rather coarse textiles of native flax and the fibrous inner bark of the slippery elm. Rather crude pottery was also made and used to some extent.

In the summer, the men wore a breechcloth, leggings, and moccasins of buckskin, and the women dressed in a short skirt open at the side, and buckskin moccasins and leggings. Both sexes went nude above the waist during warm weather, but wore

capes, robes, and mantles of skins with the fur or hair on during the winter, and wore buckskin arm coverings resembling leggings. Many of their garments and ornaments were highly decorated with designs worked in dyed moosehair, dyed porcupine quills and wampum, and, after the arrival of Europeans, with *appliqué* ribbon-work and beading. In almost every case the designs used by these tribes were floral and were patterned after the everyday leaves, flowers, ferns, and grasses of their land.

In color, these Indians varied from a warm brown to a pale ocher, and, as a rule, their features were clear cut with high cheek bones, aquiline noses, and narrow eyes. Although many of the warriors wore the scalp lock and shaved the head, leaving only this and an upstanding comblike roach from forehead to nape of neck, yet this custom was by no means universal, and the majority wore their hair long and braided. Nor were feather war bonnets used. A feather or two in the hair at the back of the head, caps of skin decorated with feathers, roaches or crests of dyed hair, headbands encircled with a row of wild turkey tail feathers, or plain fillets of skin, bark, or woven fiber were the rule. The Shawnees, however, wore headdresses of skin with feathers about the edge and with a pendant feather "tail" which somewhat resembled war bonnets.

All the tribes used tobacco, smoking the prepared leaves in short pipes with small stone or pottery bowls and wooden stems. They were fond of games, among which were dice in a bowl, jackstraws, cup and pin, Shawnee football, and the moccasin game

in which one side hid some object in one of several moccasins and the other side endeavored to guess its location.

Although it is popularly supposed that any Indian tribe may be identified by its moccasins, this is by no means the case. Very often one tribe borrowed a moccasin type from some neighboring tribe, and frequently the moccasins of one tribe would differ greatly in design and pattern according to locality, and it was not unusual to find several distinct types of moccasins in use by a single tribe. The footgear which has become, in the minds of most persons, the typical moccasin, was a low, slipperlike shoe of soft buckskin gathered to a tongue on the instep. These were used by many eastern tribes and particularly by the Ojibwas, Chippewas, and others of the Algonquin race, but were by no means typical of all eastern Indians.

Broadly speaking, all moccasins may be classified under one of six distinct types, but there are endless variations and combinations of these. In form they varied all the way from low, slipperlike foot coverings to high boots. Whereas the woodland tribes used moccasins with soft soles and with uppers and soles in one piece, the plains and desert Indians used moccasins with separate soles of rawhide or thick leather sewed to the uppers.

Moreover, the moccasin is not confined to North American tribes. Although most of the Indians of Mexico and Central and South America used sandals of hide, bark, or plaited vegetable fiber, or were barefoot, yet the Mapuches of Chile and some of the

Quichua tribes of the Andes made typical moccasins gathered to a seam along the instep in exactly the same manner as those of several North American tribes.

The majority of the eastern Algonquin tribes used moccasins gathered or puckered to a tongue on the instep, and the same type of footgear was used by the Indians of northern New England, who also belong to the Algonquin group. Among the best known of these tribes are the Abanaki, Micmac, Malecite, Penobscot, and Passamaquoddy. These tribes inhabited Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Canada as far north as the Saint Lawrence River and gulf.

Although dependent mainly on hunting and fishing, yet they raised certain hardy vegetables in small clearings. The bows used by these tribes were four or five feet in length, rather slender, with a distinctly flat back and rounded underside. The arrows were from twenty-three to twenty-seven inches in length, had three feathers, and were fitted with the various types of heads already mentioned. In fishing, three-pronged spears, nets, hooks, and lines were used. They also used the hardwood, globular-headed war club.

In the northern New England districts, snowshoes were a necessity, and these tribes had developed snowshoes to a high state of perfection. Indeed, most of the snowshoes in use to-day are of the Micmac or Abanaki pattern and many are still made by the Maine Indians for the sporting trade.

Here, too, the birch-bark canoe reached a high

state of perfection, and the Penobscot model served as the basis for the canvas canoes so widely used by white men to-day. In addition to the birch-bark canoe, these Indians made skin canoes for temporary use, covering a frame of poles with green moose skins tallowed at the joints. These served excellently for fairly short voyages down the rivers.

Among these tribes the toboggan was also used for winter transportation, while in summer, loads were carried on the back by means of a tump line across the forehead, a method widely used from the Arctic to Chile and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Burden baskets of birch bark and splints were also used in carrying loads.

Among these tribes various types of dwellings were used, such as the typical conical wigwam or tepee covered with bark or sometimes skins or mats, and a variation of this which had the conical upper portion with lower walls of logs. During the summer, long broad houses were used, these being rectangular in form and having a narrow smoke hole along the ridge pole the entire length of the building. During the winter, the log-walled wigwams were banked with leaves, moss, and sod until they had the appearance of low mounds topped with a conical hut.

House furnishings were more numerous and varied than among the southern New England tribes. Among them were boxes, bowls and kettles of bent wood and birch bark, wooden bowls and spoons, baskets of grass and splints, bags and burden straps of bark and woven fibers, and many stone, bone, and

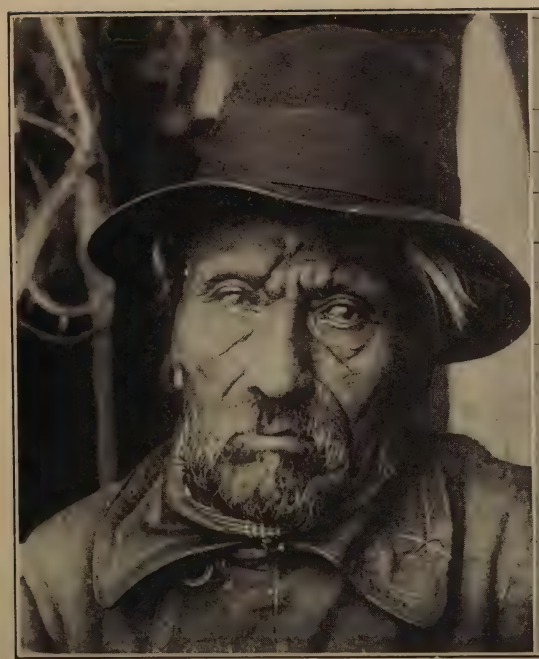


Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

DELAWARE WOMAN WITH SILVER AND FEATHER HEADDRESS

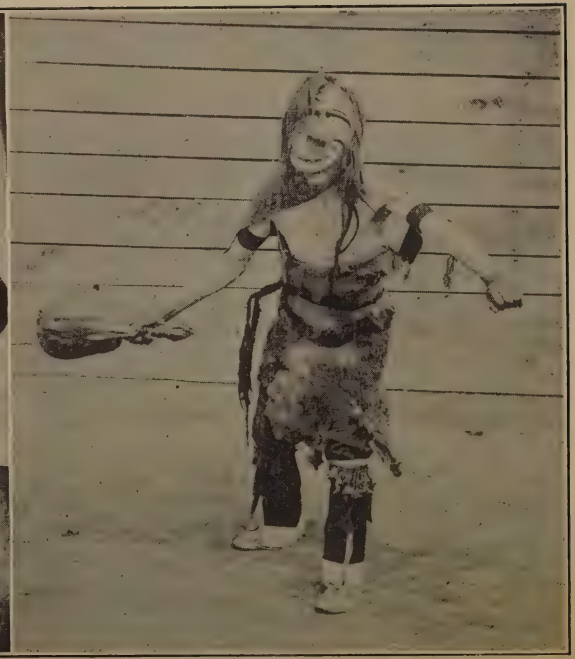
CHIPPEWA MAN

DELAWARE WOMAN WITH ROBE OF APPLIQUÉ RIBBON DECORATIONS



Photograph by the Author

PASSAMAQUODDY MAN



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

CAYUGA "FALSE-FACE" DANCER

wooden implements and tools. Pottery, if used at all, was rare and was probably secured through trade with other tribes. Water-tight wooden and bark utensils were used for cooking.

As was customary with many tribes, food was boiled by dropping hot stones into the liquid; but these Indians also boiled food in birch-bark kettles by suspending them over hot coals after the hot stones had raised the water to the boiling point or near it.

Tobacco, secured by trade, was used by these tribes; but the usual material smoked was the shredded bark of the red willow. This was used in pipes of the Micmac type, consisting of a cup-shaped bowl surmounting a ridge or keel carved from a single piece of stone and fitted with a wooden stem.

In appearance these Indians were similar to the other Algonquin tribes: fairly tall, well proportioned, muscular, with light brownish skins, straight black hair, prominent cheek bones, and thin-bridged, straight or aquiline noses.

Before the advent of the whites, these tribes dressed in tanned deerskins, the costumes consisting of long-skirted coats, trouserlike leggings, and moccasins. These were augmented in winter by fur garments and robes.

Baby-carriers or cradle boards were used. These had a bow of wood above the child's head to protect it in case of a fall and were often ornately decorated with quill- and hair-work. In their painted, bead, quill, and moose-hair ornamentation these Indians showed a highly artistic taste, using curved lines to

form conventionalized floral designs. These were also employed in decorating the birch-bark baskets and utensils, the pattern on the bark being scraped away, thus producing a light-colored design on the darker background, which was the reverse of the process used by neighboring tribes.

Particularly attractive and well made were the birch-bark boxes of the Micmacs, who were the most northerly tribe of the group. Many of these, worked in intricate designs of soft-colored porcupine quills, appear at first sight to be inlay work of the most delicate sort, the quills in many cases being so fine and so closely and evenly placed that it is almost impossible to detect the separate quills.

Unfortunately, since the invasion of the white men, these Indians have adopted aniline dyes and their modern quillwork is gaudy, garish, and cheap in appearance. Very soon after the arrival of Europeans, these tribes adopted cloth in place of buckskin for garments, used blankets in place of fur robes, abandoned bows and arrows for firearms, and became adepts in making ribbon *appliqué* work and silver brooch ornaments.

Like most Indians, these tribes were fond of games and sports, the most popular of which was played with circular dice made of bone tossed in a shallow wooden dish. Dolls and tops were also used, and the cup and pin game was a great favorite.

Among these tribes the hair was generally worn long and either tied loosely at the back or braided. In place of the conventional war bonnet of feathers, a cap of skin or a skin band was worn which was

often decorated with bead- or quill-work and sometimes with a feather or two at the rear.

From time immemorial, these eastern and northern Algonquin races were at war more or less continually, with the powerful Iroquois of northern New York, southern Ontario, and portions of Pennsylvania and Ohio. The surviving tribes of the Iroquois are the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas—the five tribes which formed the original celebrated Five Nations—together with the Tuscaroras, who joined the northern Iroquois early in the eighteenth century and thus transformed the league into the Six Nations. In addition to these, many of the Hurons and Wyandots still survive. Although these two tribes belong to the same group, yet they were not politically connected with the Iroquois confederation.

Probably no group of tribes in North America was more famed than the Iroquois. Not only were they so powerful, so well organized, and so warlike that they conquered and virtually controlled all the continent east of the Mississippi and north of Virginia and Tennessee, but they offered a stubborn and for long successful resistance to the Europeans. At times, however, they became their allies, and under white leadership made destructive raids and ruthless massacres throughout New England and the middle states.

To their organization, their virility, and their strength is due the fact that so many of the race still exist and occupy their ancestral lands. They have become prosperous, civilized, and respected farm-

ers, tradesmen, etc., although still retaining their tribal organizations and customs to large extent.

No other North American tribes possessed such a genius for politics and organizations. The Iroquois league was the first federal union of states north of Mexico. It had a central government, as well as local councils, and functioned in a highly efficient manner. Descent was by the female line and woman suffrage was firmly established, many of the councilors, officials, and even some of the chiefs being women. In their ceremonial and religious life the Iroquois also reached a high state of advancement, although both these and the development of industries were subservient to politics and military training.

Like most of the other tribes of the central and eastern woodland areas the Iroquois were preëminently agricultural, and possessed large, well tilled cornfields and vegetable gardens. Hunting and fishing were, however, important, and the Iroquois tribes were noted for their skill in these pursuits. For hunting, they used long, flat bows of rectangular section which were sometimes made with waved or scalloped edges for decorative effect. The arrows were long, with three feathers, and before the arrival of Europeans were tipped with stone, deer antlers, or bone. Bone fishhooks and skin and fiber nets were used for fishing, while for hunting birds and small game the Iroquois used blowguns with darts tufted with thistledown.

Like the other northerly tribes, these Indians used snowshoes, which were broader in proportion than

the eastern Algonquin types, and had upturned toes similar to the snowshoes of the more western tribes.

The typical dwelling of the Iroquois was a large, well-built, rectangular house with gabled roof. It was constructed of poles lashed together and covered with sheets of elm bark sewed to the frame with bast. Often a number of related families occupied one house, each with its own fireplace, sleeping bunks, and storage space. The bunks were built along the walls, sometimes in double tiers, and the bedding consisted of mats and skins. Beneath these bunks were stored the various belongings, in baskets, bags of woven fiber, etc.

In addition to these, the Iroquois had numerous household implements and utensils, such as wooden bowls; trays and spoons; wooden mortars and pestles; coarse and fine basketry sieves; bowls, baskets, and barrels of elm bark; round-bottomed pottery kettles, etc.

Baby-carriers or cradles were used, the Iroquois form of cradle having the typical protective hoop over the head, while the footboard was permanently fixed instead of being adjustable as among most tribes.

As weapons for warfare these Indians used heavy clubs of various forms, including the globular-headed type, but they were among the earliest Indians to adopt the white man's steel hatchets and tomahawks.

For smoking they used stone and pottery pipes with the bowls carved or modeled in animal and

human figures, and either with bowl and stem in one piece or with separate wooden stems.

Their canoes were both of the dugout and bark types, both elm and birch bark being used for the latter; and when journeys were made overland pack baskets with woven tump lines were used.

Nowadays, and on ordinary occasions, the Iroquois dress as do their white neighbors, and are as up to date in styles as any one, but on ceremonial or tribal occasions they don their ancient costumes, although these are now made of cloth instead of buckskin. The man's costume consists of a tuniclike coat reaching nearly to the knees, a breechcloth, and long leggings handsomely beaded and worn with the seam in front. The moccasins of deer or moose hide, are usually with the uppers puckered to a single seam in front, though the Hurons, Mohawks, and Oneidas, as a rule, prefer the form in which the uppers are puckered to an instep piece or tongue. The typical Iroquois headdress was a cap covered with short, curling, cut feathers with one or more eagle feathers rising from the center, although some of the men wore upstanding roaches of hair. Across their shoulders and about their waists the men wore sashes of yarn woven in handsome patterns, often combining beads with the yarns. Garters of similar weave were tied about the legs just below the knees.

The woman's costume consisted of a decorated piece of skin or cloth belted skirtwise about the waist, and an overdress of lighter material covering the upper portion of the body and extending halfway down the skirt. Leggings, beautifully beaded and

with the seam in front, were worn; and on the feet were moccasins like those of the men. In cold weather both sexes wore robes of skin with the fur on.

As ornaments, both men and women used silver rings, earrings, and bracelets, while the women's dresses were often laden with silver disks or brooches. The use of silver by the Iroquois began with the arrival of the Europeans and later was developed into a true art which has only been recently abandoned. In beadwork, quillwork, and moose-hair work the Iroquois showed highly artistic taste and great skill. Nearly every article of wearing apparel, burden straps, sashes, pouches, bags, robes, etc., were highly decorated, the designs being more or less conventionalized plant forms carried out in a fine lacelike manner, and often completely covering the material on which they were worked.

In appearance the Iroquois varied somewhat according to tribe. They were well built, sinewy rather than muscular, erect, and had fairly high cheek bones; keen, straight eyes; high-bridged, often aquiline noses; rather full lips; and straight black hair. In color they varied from pale yellow or light olive to a ruddy tan-brown.

Like most tribes, they were fond of dances and ceremonials. They believed in numerous spirits, mainly personified powers of nature over which ruled an omnipotent or supreme being or "Great Spirit." Their principal ceremonies consisted of periodical feasts and dances at which thanks were given for past favors, and prayers and offerings made for

their continuance, together with rites supposedly pleasing to the good spirits. With their inherent mania for organization, the Iroquois had many secret societies whose members on certain occasions, performed publicly and carried out most spectacular and impressive ceremonies. Such was the Falseface Company described in Chapter VIII.

Games of many kinds were popular among the Iroquois, and most of their ancient games are still played by the Iroquois tribes of to-day. Among these are lacrosse, hoop and pole, dice and bowl, cup and pin, dolls, and tops, and the ever popular winter game of snow snake in which long, polished sticks or "snakes" are slid over the snow or ice for amazing distances.

West of the Iroquois territory, and occupying the area now comprised by Indiana, Illinois, a large portion of Wisconsin, and a part of Michigan, were a number of tribes belonging to the Algonquin stock and known collectively as the Central Algonquins. Among these tribes were the Sauk and Foxes, the Kickapoos, Menominees, Peorias, and Potawatomis. Very few of these tribes now remain in the district, the majority being scattered on various reservations. Although these were not strictly woodland Indians, and their homes were on the borderland of prairie and forest, yet their manner of living, their customs, and their industries were typically those of the woodland tribes, and had little that is suggestive of the plains Indians. Like the Iroquois and the Eastern Algonquins, these Indians depended mainly upon agriculture, but also carried on a great deal of hunt-

ing and fishing. Among the more northerly tribes of the group, gathering wild rice and making maple sugar were important industries.

The ordinary hunting weapons were bows and arrows, although spears were also used, especially in hunting bears and in warfare. The bows were typical of those of the eastern woodland Indians; they were four or five feet in length with a flat rectangular section. The arrows were long, with three feathers and with the nock slightly hollowed for a fingerhold. The tips were, before the arrival of white men, of stone, bone, or antler; and knob-headed arrows were used for small game.

Deer pounds were also used and the animals were sometimes chased by dogs and killed by hunters ambushed beside the runways, and at times were hunted at night by jack lights. Does were lured within reach of the hunters by deer calls which imitated the cry of a fawn. For fishing, both harpoon-like, single-pointed spears and three-pronged spears were used, as well as nets, and hooks made of bone or copper. In addition to all these hunting and fishing weapons, these tribes used the globe-headed war club, and later, the tomahawk.

For utensils they had wooden ladles, spoons, dishes, and bowls; wooden mortars for crushing corn; rough-surfaced baskets for washing the hulled corn or hominy; baskets of splints and grass; birch-bark boxes and receptacles; bags woven from fibers and sometimes combined with buffalo hairs; and trunklike boxes of buffalo rawhide painted in angular designs like those of the plains Indians. In addi-

tion to these, the central Algonquins made egg-shaped, pointed-bottomed pots of earthenware.

Long, flat, curved bone needles were used in sewing rushes to form waterproof mats with which winter wigwams were covered. Similar mats, often woven in decorative patterns, were used for wall and floor coverings, and to cover the benchlike beds.

The cradle or baby-carrier used by these Indians was similar to that of the eastern tribes, and was provided with a U-shaped strip of wood which served as sides and a foot rest, and which was movable so that it could be lowered as the child grew.

Their houses were largely of two types, a rectangular gable-roofed form for summer use, and a dome-shaped wigwam covered with mats or bark for cold weather. Like the houses of the Iroquois, the rectangular dwellings of the Central Algonquins were provided with raised bunks along the sides which served as seats and tables as well as beds. In the dome-shaped houses the Indians preferred to sleep on thick layers of dry grass or evergreen boughs. In addition to their dwellings, these Indians had medicine lodges in which the ceremonies of the *Mitawin* were carried out. This was a long edifice with an arched roof, and for each ceremony it was covered with mats which were removed at the close of the ceremonial, the frame being left standing for the next event.

In the northern part of their district, these tribes used the birch-bark canoe, but one with higher ends than the northern Algonquian type. The canoe most

widely used was the dugout, designed more or less on the model of the birch-bark craft.

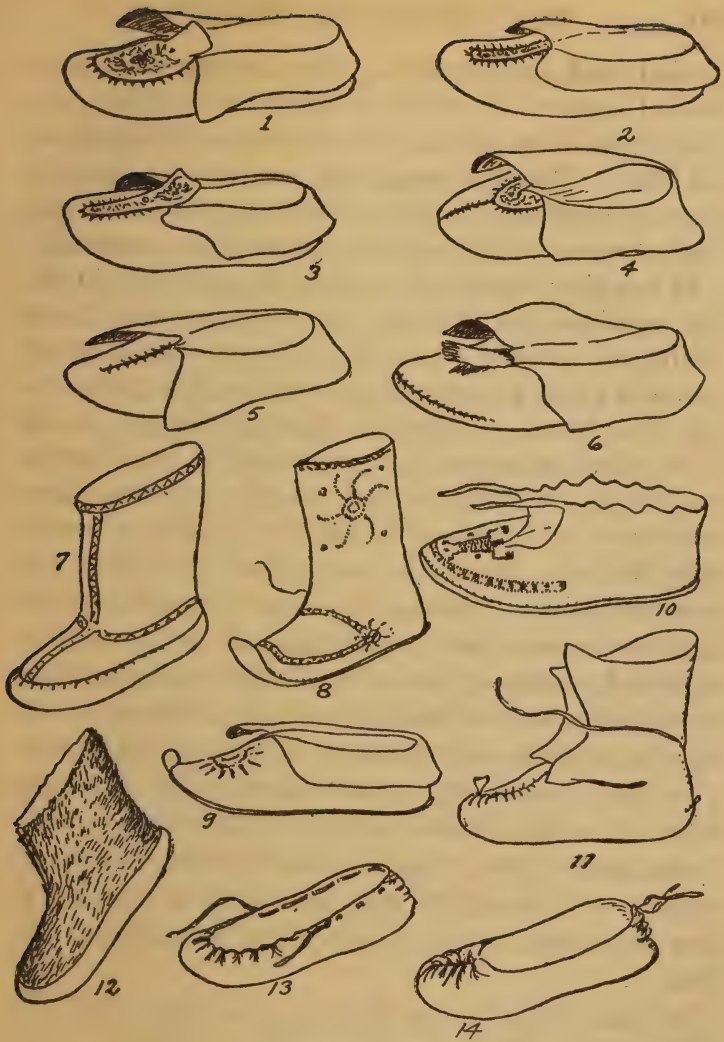
Among these tribes, very soon after the arrival of the Spaniards, the horse came into use as a means of transportation. The saddles, bridles, and other trappings made by the Central Algonquins are similar to those of the plains tribes who were the first to use horses, and whose accouterments were quickly copied by neighboring tribes. In wintertime, snowshoes and toboggans were used by the northern tribes of the group, several patterns of both being made, and often obviously copied from their neighbors.

Smoking was universal among these Indians, as among other tribes. The pipes used were very similar to those of the plains tribes and consisted of a T-shape or L-shape bowl of red or black pipestone with a long, usually flat, wooden stem often decorated with carving, quillwork, and beadwork, the bowl sometimes being carved into a human or animal figure.

In appearance these Indians were similar to their more easterly relatives, and were quite distinct from the true plains and desert Indians. Their color varied from a yellowish olive to a coppery brown; they were fairly tall, well proportioned, rather more muscular and inclined to corpulency than the true woodland tribes, and had well-bridged, often aquiline noses, straight eyes, prominent chins, full lips, and straight black hair. The hair was worn long or, in the case of some warriors, was shaved clean with the exception of a braid or scalp lock at the back and

an upstanding, bristly crest from forehead to nape of neck.

The typical headdress was a broad band of otter skin with beaded decorations, while the shaven-headed men were fond of artificial crests or roaches made of turkey beards or deer hair. The man's costume varied more or less with the different tribes. From the earliest Colonial days cloth was adopted in place of the original skin garments. The upper portion of the body was covered by a shirt of buckskin or cotton cloth; about the loins was a breech-cloth of blue cloth often beaded; leggings of deerskin fringed along the seams, or of blue cloth decorated with ribbon *appliqué* work, covered the limbs. One-piece buckskin moccasins puckered to a single seam in front were worn, although among the more northerly tribes the type with an inset tongue was used. About his waist the man wore a gorgeous belt of magnificent beadwork; garters of beadwork were fastened just below the knees; a handsomely beaded pouch with ornamented straps was slung across the shoulders. At times a deerskin coat was added. This was cut in white man's style, and was often elaborately fringed, beaded, and decorated. During cold weather, robes and blankets were used. The woman's costume consisted of a waist of skin or cloth decorated with silver brooches, a decorated strip of skin or of red or blue cloth fastened skirt-wise about the waist, and short leggings of red or blue cloth or buckskin often beautifully worked with ribbon *appliqué* or beads. Over this costume, in cold weather, was worn a robe of cloth heavily



MOCCASIN TYPES

1. Tuscarora
2. Kickapoo
3. Seneca
4. Chippewa
5. Potawatomi
6. Shahaptian
7. Lechoux (winter)
8. Apache
9. Apache
10. Arapaho
11. Seminole
12. Montegnais
13. Quicua (Peru)
14. Mapuche (Chile)

beaded and ornamented. Her headdress was a beaded square of cloth wrapped about the hair, which was done up in a roll or club and hung down the back. The hair wrapping was held in place by a woven beadwork band to which were fastened long bead streamers that reached almost to the ground.

In weaving, beadwork, quillwork, and later, in ribbon *appliqué,* the Central Algonquins showed great ability and artistic taste. In their weaving they employed a great variety of patterns, mainly geometric but often based on human and animal forms. In all their weaving, however, even including their woven beadwork, the patterns are mainly angular, since techniques lend themselves only to straight or nearly straight lines. But in the case of their quillwork and bead embroidery, flowing lines and conventionalized plant forms are abundant and typical. Their textiles consisted mainly of woven bags with a warp of fiber cords and a weft of buffalo hair, plant fibers, ravelings from cloth and blankets, or commercial yarns.

In their woodwork, which was done by the men, these tribes also showed artistic ability, many of the bowls, spoons, etc., being graceful in form and ornamented with carefully and accurately executed figures of human beings, human heads, and animal figures.

In later years, after there was contact with the whites, these tribes showed a marked ability in working metals and made attractive bracelets, ornaments, brooches, etc. But all of these, or at least nearly all, were made from German silver instead of coin sil-

ver which was so widely used by other tribes, especially the Iroquois.

Among their favorite games was lacrosse, played with a very small racket, and regarded as more or less of a religious rite pleasing to the thunder gods. The bowl-and-dice game was also popular, as well as the cup and pin and draw stick or jackstraws. A game peculiar to the women was played with two balls connected by a short string and propelled with a straight stick. Both sexes were fond of the snow snake gliding; and foot races, archery, pony racing, and other athletic contests were greatly enjoyed.

In their religious beliefs and ceremonies these tribes differed considerably from their relatives to the east. They believed in a multiplicity of spirits whose homes were, in some cases above, and in others below the earth, and whose chief was a supreme being who lived in the sky or, in some cases, the sun. According to the traditions of these tribes, these various spirits granted visions to the Indians in which they were instructed how to prepare the sacred medicine bundles, the various charms, medicines, and ceremonial regalia supposed to bring good health and success to the Indians. The ceremonies associated with these bundles, whose rituals were believed to come direct from the spirits, were very important parts of the Indians' religious observances.

In addition to these strictly sacred or religious ceremonials and rites, most of these tribes had secret ceremonials conducted by a secret society known as the Mitawin (the Menominee form). Each member of this society was supposed to own a medicine bag

made of the whole skin of some animal, usually the otter, which was elaborately decorated with quill- and beadwork on feet and tail. The contents, consisting of various charms, fetishes, etc., were guarded with the utmost care. Among the other objects employed in the society's ceremonies were large wooden bowls and ladles, each carved with an effigy of Wisaka who was the traditional founder of the lodge.

In many respects the rituals and ceremonies of this society bore a most amazing resemblance to those of the Free Masons. But that, after all, is not so startling as it may seem, for throughout America, masonry-like ceremonies are constantly cropping up among the Indian tribes.

CHAPTER XIV

INDIANS NORTH OF US

NORTH of the United States, occupying nearly all of Canada from Labrador to within a few miles of the Pacific, and extending to the Eskimo territory beyond the Arctic circle, were many Indian tribes which have been divided into three groups known as the Eastern Sub-Arctic group, the Northern Algonquins and the Western Sub-Arctic group. The tribes of the Eastern Sub-Arctic group occupied the peninsula of Labrador, with the exception of the Eskimo coastal strip, and the Province of Quebec. All of these tribes east of Hudson Bay speak Algonquin dialects, but are quite distinct in habits and other ways from the Algonquins already described. The tribes in the southern part of the district are usually known collectively as the Montagnais; those of the northern area are collectively called Nascapees, although each group consists of various tribes or subtribes such as the Mistassini, Tete de Boule, etc.

In their life and customs these eastern Canadian tribes are noticeably simple. Religious and tribal organization, and ceremonials are undeveloped, while the fighting or military spirit of these Indians is so lacking that they have acquired a reputation for timidity and cowardice.

They were more or less nomadic, being largely dependent upon hunting and fishing, with the caribou as their main source of livelihood. These animals, which formerly ranged the country in vast herds, were taken by snares, shot from ambush, and speared from canoes while swimming lakes and rivers. In winter they were slaughtered by being driven into deep snowbanks where they floundered helplessly and were easily killed by the Indian hunters on snowshoes.

For killing the caribou and other animals, these tribes used larch or spruce bows four to six feet long, about an inch thick, and an inch and one-half in width, and arrows twenty-four to thirty inches long with three feathers. Formerly bone points were used for large game and knobbed tips for birds and small game; but metal points were adopted after the arrival of Europeans, and to-day firearms are in general use. The caribou spear or lance used by these Indians had a bone, antler, or steel tip about a foot in length, and a stout wooden shaft about six feet in length. For fishing, these tribes used spears, fishhooks of bone, nets made of caribou-skin thongs, and a toggle-headed harpoon probably copied from similar weapons of the neighboring Eskimos.

All the snowshoes of the district are broad for their length, and are flat without turned-up toes, although they vary in pattern among the different tribes. Birch-bark canoes were universal, two types being used, one much like those of the Maine Algonquins, while the other had greater sheer and higher ends and resembled the Chippewa canoes farther

west. In wintertime toboggans were used. They were hauled by the Indians, for these tribes, unlike the Indians of the Northwest and the Eskimos, never learned to raise and train dogs as draft animals.

Unlike the other eastern tribes, these Indians used the tepee or wigwam of skins exclusively, both in summer and winter, and for beds used animal skins and robes of rabbit skins laid over a thick mattress of spruce or fir boughs. The household utensils consisted of bowls, ladles, and round and oval boxes of spruce wood, and kettles, buckets, bowls, and boxes of spruce bark or birch bark. As pottery was unknown, all boiling (before the introduction of iron or brass pots) was done by dropping red-hot stones into the liquid in these bark or wooden vessels. Bone awls, needles, and scrapers were used; but as far as is known the only stone implement was a roughly made, cylindrical pestle used for pounding caribou meat in making pemmican.

The more northerly Nascapees did not use the typical Indian cradle or baby-carrier; but the southerly Montagnais used a type with head-protecting hoop and movable foot rest which was practically identical with the baby-carriers of the Chippewas and Penobscots.

For smoking the red willow bark, as well as tobacco, these Indians used a kind of pipe with a graceful cup-shaped bowl having a keel or ridge beneath, and fitted with a short wooden stem. A thong of skin was usually threaded through a hole in the pipe keel and tied to the stem to prevent the loss

of the latter, and very often this thong was decorated with beadwork.

In appearance these Indians were rather short and stocky, tan colored, and with flatter faces, heavier jaws and less prominetly bridged noses than their New England relatives.

The costumes of the men consisted of long coats of caribou skin, the winter coats being closed in the front, while the summer coats were open. The former were of skin tanned with the hair on and worn skin-side out, while the summer garments were without hair. Both were usually handsomely decorated with painting. With these coats were worn short trousers or trunks of caribou skin, long leggings of the same material, and moccasins which resembled those of the neighboring Eskimos. On their heads these Indians wore skin or fur caps, sometimes set off by a feather or two, or the tail or head of some wild animal, or woolen caps.

The woman's winter costume consisted of a sleeveless, caribou-skin gown reaching to below the knees, separate arm coverings of skin, leggings of caribou or deerskin, and moccasins. For additional warmth, she wore a heavy robe of soft, tanned caribou skin with the hair on. During the summer she wore a lighter dress and donned skirts of highly decorated buckskin.

In the ornamentation of these numerous tanned-leather garments, these Indians showed artistic taste and great ability. Indeed their decorative work was their only real art or culture, the decorations consisting largely of painting on skins. Birch-bark

utensils were beautifully ornamented by scraping away the surface of the bark with the exception of the patterns desired, which thus appeared in high relief of a dark color on the light background, exactly reversing the effect of the Maine Algonquin work (Chapter XIII). Only among the Mistassinis and Tete de Boule was beadwork developed, the patterns used by these tribes being largely intricate floral designs evidently copied from the Chippewas and Crees to the west.

The two last mentioned tribes belong in the Northern Algonquin group which also included the Ottawas and all the related tribes occupying the territory from Hudson Bay to the western Canadian prairies and from the Arctic Circle to within the northern borders of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.

The more southerly of these tribes were partially devoted to agriculture, but all were dependent mainly on hunting and fishing and gathering wild rice and other wild vegetables. With the exception of the southern Chippewas (sometimes known as Ojibwas), these Northern Algonquins had a simple, almost Arctic tribal organization, religion, and life, which was most marked among the Crees.

Among most of these tribes the gathering of wild rice was perhaps the most important industry. When the wild rice ripened in the shallow bays and lakes, the Indians poled their canoes through the beds, and drawing the stems over the sides of the craft, beat the grain from the heads into the canoes. It was then taken ashore, dried in the sun or on

racks over a fire, and threshed by treading with the feet or by means of flails, after which it was winnowed in birch-bark trays and stored in skin or fiber bags or bark boxes. Some tribes carried on a crude cultivation of the wild rice beds, weeding and reseeding them; but as a rule, the Indians depended upon accidentally losing enough of the grains to plant the beds for a new crop.

Gathering maple sugar was another industry, the Indians using wooden skimmers and molds and specially designed birch-bark boxes in which the sugar was stored.

In hunting, the bow and arrow was the chief weapon, the bows being rather long and of rectangular section, and the arrows long and with stone, bone, antler, or copper heads. Two forms of war clubs were used, one the common globe-headed type, the other a flat, bent, or "gun-stock"-shaped affair. When first met by Europeans these tribes carried their knives hanging at the breast in a sheath suspended from the neck, and these sheaths were usually handsomely decorated with quill- or bead-work.

In their religion these Indians were similar to their more southern relations and believed in a multiplicity of spirits ruled over by a supreme spirit often identified as the sun. Among the Chippewas, medicine cults or societies were common, but among the other tribes the individual shaman or medicine man was the rule. Among the peculiar utensils pertaining to these religious societies was the "water drum," so-called because an inch or two of water

was poured into it to lend greater resonance to its sound. It is also worthy of note that among these tribes the rituals were preserved and recorded by means of picture writings, usually on birch bark, the characters used representing the song topics in their proper sequence.

Several forms of pipes were used, those of the Crees being the bowl and keel form of carved stone with a wooden stem. Those of the Ottawas and Chippewas had plain stone bowls with short wooden stems for ordinary occasions, while for ceremonial uses they employed heavy L-shaped pipes of red or black stone with long, wooden stems usually beautifully and elaborately carved.

Their canoes were of birch bark, although the Chippewas also used dugouts. For winter transportation they used toboggans and snowshoes, the latter long and narrow with square, slightly upturned toes.

Like the Central Algonquins, these Indians used the rectangular, bark-covered dwelling with gable roof, the dome-shaped, bark wigwam, and a portable dome-shaped wigwam covered with mats. In addition, the more northerly tribes used the conical tepee or wigwam with skin or birch-bark covering.

For household furnishings, these Indians had an abundance of mats woven from rushes and cedar bark, boxes of birch bark, skin bags, woven pouches or sacks, cylindrical wooden mortars, bowls, ladles, and other vessels of wood, and some pottery. The cradle or baby-carrier used was the same as that of the Central Algonquins (Chapter XIII), although

often decorated and with the head yoke bent in fanciful form.

The costume of the men was a short vest or shirt, a breechcloth; long, fringed leggings, and soft moccasins puckered to an instep piece. The headdress was a band or cap of skin ornamented with a few feathers. The costume of the women was a sleeveless gown extending from armpits to knees, a cape or flap over the shoulders, separate sleeve coverings, a broad waist sash or belt, short leggings and moccasins, while at times a short skirtlike strip of material was worn about the thighs beneath the overgarment. During winter weather, both sexes wore fur robes, and, after contact with white men, all the tribes adopted cloth in place of buckskin for wearing apparel, or used a combination of both.

Usually the garments, especially those of the women, were elaborately ornamented by bead- and quillwork, in which arts these tribes were notably expert and showed a highly developed artistic taste. Their designs and patterns, largely of floral forms, and the technique of their truly beautiful work have been copied far and wide by other tribes, and are now found among practically all of the Western sub-Arctic Indians, and have even spread to the Pacific coast tribes, such as the Tlinkits. To the south, the Northern Algonquin *motifs* and work have extended to the Winnebagos and Potawatomis.

Among the games and sports of these tribes may be mentioned bone dice-and-bowl; the cup-and-pin game, consisting of fish vertebrae tossed up and caught on the tip of a pin attached to a string; la-

crosse; shinny or hockey; hoop and pole; snow snake; and the women's game of double ball; besides many games much like hide the thimble.

Farther west, occupying most of the area between Hudson Bay and the Pacific coast south of the Eskimo domains, are many tribes among which are the Loucheux, Sarsis, Kawchodinnes (a branch of the Slave tribe), and some Chippewaian tribes. All of these are so similar in life, customs, industries, and language that they are usually grouped together. As a whole, these Indians exhibited the usual sub-Arctic simplicity of life, religions, and tribal organization. Some, like the Loucheux, were warlike; but the majority were peaceful, docile, and even timid, the humble character of one tribe having led to their being called "Slaves" by the more virile tribes of the south.

Being almost entirely dependent upon hunting and fishing, these tribes were largely nomadic and followed the caribou, the moose, the salmon, and the whitefish. In capturing the caribou, these Indians employed pounds or traps consisting of wide-winged fences leading to a narrow apex which formed the slaughter pen.

The common type of bow used was of willow about five feet in length, of the double-curved form, and flattened oval in section. The arrows were short, with three feathers, and had points of bone or metal. Nets and spears were used in fishing. In winter, snowshoes of a long narrow pattern with sharply upturned toes were universally used and were indispensable. Originally, stone or even bone knives

were used; but from very early days these tribes have used a peculiarly formed double-edged knife made by the Indians from files obtained from white traders.

The birch-bark canoe in various forms was extensively used, while for heavy loads, canoes of moose-skin were preferred. Unlike the birch canoes of the New England and eastern Canadian tribes, the canoes of these tribes were decked fore and aft and were narrow and sharp ended. Where there were no navigable waterways, burdens were transported on the backs of dogs or on the backs of the Indians, and in winter, toboggans, often drawn by dogs, were used extensively.

In the northern parts of their district these Indians used dome-shaped houses or wigwams of skins, and in summer erected rectangular shacks of poles and bark which served as dwellings and also as smoke houses for curing fish. In the southern parts of their territory, they used the conical tepee or wigwam, which was usually bark covered. For household furnishings they had baskets of coiled weave; bowls and buckets of birch bark; dishes and ladles of mountain sheep horns and of wood; skins; robes; and mats.

The men wore a long shirt or tunic ending in tail-like points at front and back, and trousers and moccasins made in one piece. This costume varied among the several tribes, and the tribes of the southerly districts used shorter tunics, long leggings, and moccasins. The women's costumes consisted of long, tuniclike gowns without the points, trousers or long



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NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

1. Indians of Eastern Canada
2. Northern Algonquins
3. Indians of Western Canada
4. Indians of Southern States

leggings, and separate moccasins, the women of the more southerly tribes varying the costume to the extent of shorter gowns, shorter leggings, and the addition of abbreviated skirts. In winter both sexes wore warm robes made of strips of rabbit skins twisted in a sort of fur-covered yarn and closely woven. For protection in winter weather, the children were padded with thick, dry moss and covered with a sacklike envelope. No baby-carriers were used, the child being carried in a fold of the mother's robe upon her back and supported by a broad belt or band, passed outside the robe and fastened over the breast.

Games were principally of an athletic character, especially wrestling, but several hand games, such as the cup and pin, were favorites.

The decorative and artistic tastes of these people were mainly expressed in quillwork at which they excelled. Indeed, much of their quill ornamentation is the finest known and has never been equaled by any other tribes. Not only were porcupine quills used, but the quills of birds' feathers, as well as beads, played an important part in their decorations. Many of their garments, their moccasins, their pouches, and especially their belts, are marvels of artistic design and harmonious color combinations, although of late years their work has been greatly influenced by the whites and by the work of the Crees whose easily recognizable floral patterns have been so widely copied.

CHAPTER XV

INDIANS OF OUR SOUTHERN STATES

ALL the North American Indians I have so far described belonged to more or less closely related racial stocks or groups, and were similar in many of their customs, habits, dialects, and costumes. But in the area now occupied by our southern states, were many tribes wholly distinct in every way. These Indians, who originally occupied the territory from Virginia and Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic coast to beyond the mouth of the Mississippi, represented a number of racial stocks and languages and were in various stages of advancement at the time of the first arrival of Europeans in America. Despite this, however, all are in some ways so similar in arts, mode of life, organization, and other characteristics that for our purpose they may be grouped together.

The most typical stock represented in this group is the Muskhogean in which are included such tribes as the Creeks proper, the Alibamu and Koasati (both of the old Creek confederation), the Choctaws, the Houmas, the Seminoles, and the Chickasaws. Quite distinct from these racially, and yet similar in many ways, are the Cherokees of Iroquoian stock, and the Uchees and Chitimachas who are believed

to be the only survivors of a distinct linguistic group. Finally, several of the Sioux tribes existed in this district, notably the Catawbas, who are the only Siouan people existing to-day in any numbers in the district.

Archæological remains prove that in former times many of these southern tribes had reached a high state of culture which was lost or nearly lost soon after the advent of Europeans, most of the surviving tribes having almost completely abandoned aboriginal ways. Only the Florida Seminoles approximate the life and customs of their ancestors; but even these Indians have lost all but a few of the features of their tribal culture, owing to their long conflict with the whites and the hunted, persecuted life they were forced to adopt when driven into the fastnesses of the Everglades.

Among most of these tribes, agriculture was the main industry, although hunting and fishing were carried on extensively. In hunting, the bow used was long, flat, and of rectangular section. The arrows, too, were far longer than those of the northeastern tribes, and had two feathers set with a slight twist. Many of the arrows, of both wood and cane, had fire-hardened tips, while others had points of stone, bone, and antler. All of these, with the exception of the fire-hardened type which is still used for small game, gave place to metal soon after the arrival of white men in the district. Most interesting is the fact that, unlike other tribes, these Indians made metal arrow points of conical form instead of triangular barbed shape.

Blowguns were also used extensively by these Indians, and in this district these weapons reached their highest development in North America. Two types were used, one of cane, smoothed inside and straightened, the other formed by binding two grooved sections of wood together to form a tube. Darts of twisted cane permanently tufted were used, but as far as is known, no poisoned darts were employed. Neither were the heavy, knobbed war clubs of the northern and eastern tribes used by these southern Indians who preferred lighter scimitar or swordlike clubs of hardwood. Among the more westerly tribes of the group, these were at times provided with a heavy knob or ball at the back, much in the manner of a butcher's cleaver, in order to give additional weight and power to the weapon.

For fishing, nets and weirs were used, as well as basketry traps, bone hooks and spears. Among these tribes, too, the common South American custom of shooting fish with bow and arrows was widely practiced, and is still in vogue among some of the tribes. Among the Choctaws, the arrows used for shooting fish are almost exactly like those in use by various South American Indians, being in reality miniature harpoons with a retrieving line attached to the loose, barbed head.

In their religions, these Indians were similar to many other tribes, and believed in a multitude of spirits or deities dominated by a supreme being, identified as the sun by certain tribes, while others regarded the sun as the Great Spirit's chief helper among the subordinate powers. In ancient times,

temples were built upon artificial mounds for religious and ceremonial purposes, at which shamans or medicine men officiated, serving the several purposes of priest, physician, juggler, and magician in one.

Among the ceremonial articles used were drums, rattles, and whistles; masks; wands trimmed with eagle feathers and used in the "eagle dance"; and rattles made of the shells of many land turtles each containing pebbles. These shells were attached to the leggings of the women during dances. There were also scarifiers of bone set in eagle quills which were used in blood-letting on certain occasions, as just before engaging in an intervillage or intertribal game of "racket." In this game the participants wore the tails of various animals as charms, the Indians believing that they thus became imbued with the speed, agility, and endurance of the various creatures.

All of these tribes used tobacco, and for smoking, employed pipes with small bowls of pottery, stone, or wood with short stems of wood or cane. The best stone pipes were those of the Cherokees, who frequently carved their pipe bowls in animal effigies, while the best pottery pipes were those made by the Catawbas.

Among these southern tribes, the favorite game was "racket" or "raquette" played much in the manner of lacrosse except that each player used two, small, netted sticks. Another favorite game was a form of the widespread hoop and pole, played in this region with a stone disk which was rolled along a prepared course and made to serve as a



BABY-CARRIERS OR CRADLE BOARDS

1. Diegueño
2. Seri
3. Pima
4. Yuma
5. Hupa
6. Hopi
7. Zuñi
8. Luiseño
9. Shahaptian
10. Wichita
11. Navajo
12. Potawatomi
13. Iroquois
14. Ute
15. Kiowa
16. Crow
17. Piute
18. Mapuche (Chile

target for the other players, exactly as wooden hoops are used elsewhere. Dice games were also common, but a shallow basket was used instead of the ordinary wooden bowl for shaking the bone dice.

Wherever there were navigable waters, these tribes used dugout canoes, while for carrying burdens overland and bringing crops of corn, etc., from their fields, these tribes used large hopper-shaped baskets carried on the back, and supported by a breast or brow band.

At the present time, only two forms of dwellings are used by these tribes. The first, which is the typical Seminole house, is rectangular, gable roofed, palm thatched, and is raised several feet from the ground on posts, but has no walls. The other type is that of the Houmas, which is similar to the foregoing but is provided with walls of palm leaves. Formerly, however, circular and oval houses were in use and rectangular dwellings with arched or dome-shaped roofs were not uncommon. In construction, these also varied, some being entirely of palm thatch, others of bark, others of mats, and still others of wattled work plastered with mud or clay.

The beds were usually benchlike, raised platforms covered with mats and skins, or even with fabrics woven of vegetable fiber, cotton, and hair. Several of the tribes made low, carved wooden stools similar to those used by the West Indian and South American tribes. Among the other household furnishings were peculiar basketwork trays of square form used for winnowing grain, scoop-shovel-shaped

winnowing baskets (among the Choctaws), sieve baskets, storage baskets of many forms, wooden and buffalo-horn ladles, spoons, wooden bowls and trays, and an abundance of pottery utensils. Indeed, pottery reached a higher state of development and a wider use here than among any other North American races with the exception of the Pueblos of the southwest. The pottery ware of the Catawbas still finds a ready market in South Carolina and its manufacture is an important industry of the surviving members of the tribe.

To-day cradles of wood, or baby-carriers, are not in use among these tribes, the hammock, peculiar to southern Indians, having supplanted both this and the older forms of beds; but formerly, baby-carriers of cane were used by the tribes near the Mississippi delta and carriers of cane were in use by the Choctaws.

Basketry reached a high development among these tribes, especially the Cherokees and Chitimachas, and from earliest times these southern tribes have been famed for their textiles. These, woven from various fibers, opossum hair, and buffalo wool, were used as garments, belts, sashes, garters, and pouches, but nowadays have been supplanted by native weaving in commercial yarns. Formerly, too, these Indians made magnificent feather robes or mantles, each selected feather being individually fastened to a woven fabric foundation, often in handsome designs and color combinations, the whole forming a robe of extraordinary warmth and lightness.

Headdresses, North American Indians

1. Warbonnet, Kiowa
2. Warbonnet, Mandan
3. Woman's Headdress of Fur, Mandan
4. Roach of Horsehair, Sioux
5. Cap of Leather and Feathers, Apache
6. Cap of Leather, Scalp Locks and Antelope Horns, Apache
7. Cap of Leather and Feathers, Apache
8. Hair Plume, Osage
9. Headdress of Fur, Beadwork and Feathers, Fox
10. Cap of Beadworked Leather, Horsehair and Horns, Winnebago
11. Roach of Badger Hair and Feathers, Osage
12. Cap and Bob of Otter Skin, Comanche
13. Cap of Skin and Feathers, Modoc
14. Headdress of Porcupine Skin, Wild Cat Skin and Feathers, Modoc
15. Headdress of Fur and Feathers, Modoc
16. Headdress of Bark and Feathers, Klamath
17. Headdress of Skin and Feathers, Taos Pueblos
18. Headdress of Painted Rawhide, Pueblo Indians
19. Cap of Leather and Feathers, Iroquois
20. Cap of Leather and Feathers, Iroquois
21. Roach of Horsehair, Shawnee
22. Hair Ornament of Prairie Hen Feathers, Wichita
23. Headdress, Cloth and Aigrettes, Seminole
24. Headdress, Fur and Duck Wings, Chippewa
25. Hood of Fur, Lechoux Women
26. Hat of Fur, Montegnais
27. Head Plume, Alibamu



Another industry, which of course was developed since the advent of Europeans, was silverwork; but in this district the silversmith's art was the direct result of the coppersmith's work which flourished among these tribes in prehistoric days. The silver, and formerly the copper, ornaments were used by both men and women. The clothes of the latter were often completely covered with metal disks and brooches. Both sexes wore numerous rings, earrings, bracelets, arm bands, and gorgets of silver. The men also wore broad head bands of the same metal.

In beadwork, these tribes were also proficient, their designs being very commonly patterned in imitation of the markings on the rattlesnake and other serpents. Scroll designs are common, as they are on the pottery, especially in sunlike emblems connected with the ancient sun worship of these tribes.

The ancient costume of the men consisted of a breechcloth and moccasins during the summer, and robes of skins, native textiles, or feather-work for winter. About the mouth of the Mississippi a shirt made of two deerskins and reaching halfway to the knees was also worn. During the summer, the women wore a rectangular garment of fabric or skin belted about the loins like a skirt, and at times, a similar strip passing under one arm and over the other. In winter, they wore robes like those of the men, together with deerskin moccasins. The present-day costumes show great changes due to outside influences. Only the Florida Seminoles retain any distinctive Indian dress. The Seminole men wear



HEADDRESSES, NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

1. Headdress of Bark, Quillwork, and Feathers, Rappahannock
2. Headdress of Bark, Beadwork, and Feathers, Rappahannock
3. Woman's Headdress of Silver, Feathers, etc., Delaware
4. Headdress of Leather and Feathers, Shawnee
5. Headdress of Leather and Feathers, Hupa
6. Head Plumes, Tolowa
7. Headdress of Painted Leather, Tolowa
8. Headdress of Painted Leather and Feathers, Tolowa
9-10. Head Plumes, Rogue River Indians
11. Headdress of Woodpecker Scalps, Hupa
12. Headdress of Leather and Feathers, Karok
13. Headring of Horn, Scalps, and Feathers, Shahaptian
14. Headdress of Beads, Tlingit
15-16. Head Plumes, Diegueño

short tunics, voluminous skirts or kilts, soft high moccasins puckered to a single seam along the instep, and heavy turbanlike headdresses of cloth decorated with feathers or aigrets. About the arms and legs, woven garters are worn, and broad belts are fastened about the waist. The women wear skirts and short waists of gayly colored trade cloth, beadwork and woven sashes, beadwork hair ornaments, an abundance of bead necklaces and other jewelry, and moccasins like those of the men.

By far the greater number of these various tribes have been placed on the Oklahoma reservations where they have abandoned most of their native dress and, when not attired in conventional clothing, they don costumes copied from those of the plains tribes, with war bonnets and all.

In their physical and personal appearance these Indians varied considerably according to tribe and locality. On the whole they averaged shorter, stockier, and with deeper chests and smaller limbs than the Indians of the north and east; and in color they were darker, many of them being a true brown. Their faces were rounder, their lips thicker, their noses broader, and their eyes often oblique. Moreover, during the days when escaping negro slaves sought refuge among the Indians, there was a considerable intermixture of African and Indian blood, and many of the existing members of these tribes are more African than Indian in appearance, while many with typical Indian features have the dusky brown skin of the negro.

CHAPTER XVI

INDIANS OF THE PLAINS

WEST of the Mississippi, and occupying the prairies and plains northward to the Canadian border and westward to the Rocky Mountains, were many tribes of Indians representing a number of racial and linguistic stocks, and having a wide diversity of habits. Ordinarily, these tribes are referred to by the sweeping and general term of "plains Indians." But as certain features, habits, modes of life, and even physical characters, differ greatly among these Indians, while a number of non-related tribes may be more or less similar, they have been divided into three general groups. This division, although not an ethnological grouping, serves very well for the ordinary purposes of studying these interesting peoples. The three groups are known as the Southern Sioux, the Village Indians of the Plains, and the Plains Nomads.

In the first group are a number of tribes formerly inhabiting the area west of the Mississippi from Arkansas to Wisconsin, whose dialects were related to the Sioux or Dakota language, but whose customs and industries were more or less similar to those of the Central Algonquin group. Among the tribes included in the Southern Sioux are the Win-

nebagos of Wisconsin; the Iowas and Otos of Iowa, Nebraska, and Missouri; the Omahas, Poncas, Osages, Kansas, and Quapaws who dwelt in Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, and Arkansas; and in addition, the so-called Eastern Sioux such as the Santees, Sissetons, and Wahpetons.

Unlike the more westerly Siouan tribes, who were nomadic, these tribes depended a great deal upon agriculture, although hunting played an important part in their lives as most of them lived in the buffalo country. Like the other western tribes, these Indians acquired horses very soon after the arrival of the Spaniards in Mexico, and when first met by white pioneers from the east they hunted the bison on horseback.

In their weapons these tribes vary somewhat. Thus the Winnebago bow and arrows are very similar to those of the Central Algonquins already described; the bows of the Iowas and Otos are shorter and narrower; while the Osage bow is of medium length but narrow, and the arrows are of the true plains type, short with the prongs of the nock spread into swallow-tail shape, and with three long feathers. In addition to bows and arrows, these tribes used lances, as well as war clubs of several forms. Among these were the widely used globe-headed club, the gun-stock club, and the plains type of skull-cracker consisting of a stone slung loosely at the end of a wooden handle. Among the Kansas and Osages at least, circular shields of buffalo skin were used.

Living as they did between the more easterly woodlands and the far western plains, these races



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INDIANS OF THE PLAINS

1. Southern Sioux
2. Plains Nomads
3. Desert Nomads
4. Pueblos

adopted houses typical of both the woodland and the plains tribes. Thus they used bark and mat-covered wigwams, both with arched and gabled roofs; conical tepees of skin; and earth lodges. At times all of these forms would be found in use by a single tribe.

Among the more northerly tribes, snowshoes were used in winter. None of these Indians made real canoes. When a stream was to be crossed they used circular, coracle-like boats of skin or "bull boats"; but most of their traveling was, of course, done on horseback.

Among their household utensils were very few baskets, except among the Quapaws. For storage they had rectangular, rawhide trunks, flat, rawhide cases painted in angular patterns, and woven bags of fiber and buffalo hair. For grinding corn they used short, cylindrical wooden mortars and stone grinders or "hammer stones."

Baby-carriers were used, the typical form having the board extended beyond the head bow and usually carved and painted, but lacking the sides or foot rest of the Algonquin tribes.

For smoking, these Indians used pipes with L-shaped or T-shaped bowls of red or black stone with a wooden stem twelve to fourteen inches in length. For ceremonial purposes larger pipes more highly decorated were employed, and occasionally the war club and pipe were combined in a single implement. Pipes and tobacco were kept in decorated pipe bags of medium size. These were less ornate than those of the nomadic Indians farther west.

All of these tribes believed in a mysterious "Great

Spirit" known as *Wakanda,* who ruled all the lesser deities. Most of their ceremonies of a religious character centered about their bundles, which contained symbolic objects, and whose use and preparation were revealed to the Indians in visions.

It was among these tribes that the calumet ceremony was in vogue, a practice which became widely known and was the origin of the almost universal idea that all Indians smoked the "pipe of peace." The calumets of these Indians were ceremonial pipes with symbolic stems in pairs, one stem representing the male, the other the female principle. They were used in a most complicated and involved ceremony filled with symbolisms. This calumet ceremony was always an important part of every peace treaty, and was also carried out to express undying allegiance and friendship. Formerly, any one carrying a calumet could travel in safety among all the tribes, the pipes serving as a passport. To-day, however, the ceremony is commonly used as a supplication for rain, or for any purpose for which the Indians desire to win the favor of their deities.[1]

Like other tribes of the West, these tribes had many medicine bags, and, like the easterly Algonquins, they had their sacred medicine lodges. Fetishes and charms were also common, one being a wooden effigy representing a mythical dwarf known as the Tree Dweller who was supposed to bring success in hunting. A flint knife, with a beaver tooth

[1] Very often, the calumets consisted of the decorated wooden stems without bowls and were thus purely symbolical. Variations of the calumet and the use of ornately decorated "peace pipes" are common to a number of other tribes.

and a piece of deer's antler was a favorite war charm among the Osages.

In appearance, these Indians varied, the more northerly tribes averaging taller and lighter in color than their southern relatives, and as a whole, more nearly resembling the Central and Northern Algonquins than the nomadic plains and desert tribes.

The costumes worn by men and women of these tribes varied more or less in detail, but as a whole, were a sort of cross between the costumes of the Central Algonquian tribes and the far western plains Indians. Thus we find shirts, breechcloths, and leggings of Algonquin type, together with war shirts with fringes and scalp locks and war bonnets of eagle feathers. In their moccasins these tribes showed the widest variation. The majority were of the hard-soled, plains type, but many were made with flaps like the soft moccasins of the eastern woodland Indians, and like these, they were decorated with floral designs. Among the Omahas and Winnebagos, on the other hand, only the women wore soft moccasins made in one piece, and these had large flaps in front, while the Osage and Quapaw women used a unique type of soft, one-piece moccasin with a single seam down the center of the sole.

The games of these tribes were in no way peculiar, being those common to many tribes, such as lacrosse, shinny, the moccasin game, football, hoop and pole, bowl and dice, and, wherever there was snow, the snow snake.

In their arts and decorative work these tribes varied greatly, the more northerly Winnebagos

producing beautiful bead- and quill-work. Throughout the area the designs used were predominantly conventionalized floral patterns with a certain amount of angular designs. In wood-carving these Indians were not very proficient, although the Otos often produced splendid work. But in textiles, and especially bags and sashes of fibers and buffalo hair, these tribes showed skill and an æsthetic taste.

Thus, taken as a whole, we find this Southern Siouan group exactly what we might expect from their environment—tribes showing a combination of characters typical of both the true woodland and true plains tribes, and using the customs and peculiarities of one or the other as they were best suited to their needs.

Dwelling in portions of the same general territory occupied by the Southern Siouan group, but particularly along the Texan border, were the Village Indians of The Plains, who dwelt, as their name implies, in permanent villages and depended mainly upon agriculture for a livelihood. Among these were the Pawnees, Wichitas, Caddos, and Arikaras of the Caddoan linguistic stock and the Hidatsas and Mandans belonging to the Siouan stock. Of these, the Wichitas and Caddos were the most distinct in habits and other matters, as they dwelt in a partly forested region and were greatly influenced by their neighboring southeastern woodland tribes.

Among these Village Indians of the Plains, agriculture was carried on much as among the eastern agricultural tribes, and corn, beans, pumpkins, and

other vegetables were raised. In place of wooden or stone hoes and other agricultural utensils, these tribes preferred tools made of bone, the shoulder blade of a buffalo attached to a wooden handle being the common form of hoe used by these tribes before the advent of white men and the introduction of steel tools.

In addition to their crops, these Indians relied upon the herds of buffalo for a food supply and hunted these animals on horseback after the manner of the true plains Indians. The bows used were much like those of the nomadic plains Indians, but were longer, as were the arrows. Among these tribes the stone-headed skull-cracker of the plains Indians was in use; but they also made use of the globe-headed wooden club and the gun-stock-shaped weapon. Lances with long blades were also used. Most of the tribes protected themselves with circular shields which were made of the thick hide of the buffalo's neck, usually decorated and painted, and which would turn aside an arrow, a lance, or even the bullet from a smooth bore musket.

As early as 1687 these Indians possessed horses, which is not surprising, as the Coronado expedition in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola camped among the Wichitas in 1541, and no doubt lost many of their horses at that time. In all probability, the adoption of horses by the western Indians was the direct cause of many tribes becoming nomadic, the facility of moving about by horseback and with horse *travois,* inducing village and agricultural tribes to abandon their ancestral modes of life in favor of the

easier means of livelihood afforded by following the buffalo.

Like the Southern Sioux and the Plains Nomads, these village Indians used the circular skin bull boat, but unlike their nomadic neighbors, these Indians kept their skin coracles permanently.

Two types of houses were used, the commonest form being the earth lodge constructed of logs, poles, and grass and covered with sods and earth. These were dome shaped and were entered through a vestibule and were provided with a smoke hole at the top. The other form was a large structure of poles, thatched with grass, in beehive form. In addition to these, skin tepees were used as temporary shelters during hunting trips.

Within both the earth and grass houses bunks were placed along the sides and raised a short distance from the ground to serve as beds at night and as chairs and tables during the day, the space beneath being used for storage. Very often these bunks were partitioned off by skins or mats to provide greater privacy for the various occupants. As household utensils, these Indians had pottery vessels, wooden bowls and spoons, spoons of buffalo and mountain-sheep horn, baskets and bags, trunks and cases of hide.

The baby-carriers were quite different from those of the more easterly tribes, and were made of thin rods lashed side by side to an oval wooden frame and were provided with a curved head piece, as well as a bow of two willow wands. A small, specially made stool or bench was provided upon which to rest

the head of the baby-carrier to raise the head higher than the foot when placed on the floor or on a bed.

For smoking, these Indians used massive red or black stone, L-headed pipes with long, wooden stems which were carried in highly ornamental buckskin bags. In their religious beliefs, these Indians were not peculiar. They believed in various spirits or deities representing the forces of nature, as well as a ruling spirit known as Tirawa by the Pawnees and as the Lord of Life by the Mandans. Sacred and medicine bundles were in widespread use, and among some tribes, as the Hidatsas, these were so large and numerous that they were kept in shrines together with the ceremonial regalia, drums, charms, etc. Among these tribes, too, the buffalo sash was used, an amulet made of bison hair which was believed to transform an entire war party into apparent buffalos when the charm was worn by the leader.

Their games were of the usual sort, such as hoop and pole, double ball (played only by women), stick dice, woman's football, shinny, the moccasin game, and, in the north, snow snake.

In physical appearance these tribes varied more or less, but as a whole, they more nearly approached the true plains tribes, with the broad faces, prominent cheek bones, square chins, heavy noses, receding foreheads, and narrow eyes of the typical plains Indian.

Their costumes, aside from those of the Caddos, were very similar to the nomadic plains tribes, the men's dress consisting of a soft tanned skin shirt, a breechcloth, long leggings, and moccasins. The



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

TYPES OF BEADWORK

Pouch, Potawatami

Bag, Iroquois

Moccasin, Cangnawanga

Pouch, Chippewa



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

PAINTED BUFFALO-SKIN ROBE, CROW INDIANS, MONTANA

women wore skin gowns reaching from shoulders to ankles and having short open sleeves, together with short leggings and moccasins. Both sexes wore buffalo robes in winter, and later, trade blankets. The favorite headdress of the men was the war bonnet for those whose deeds or exploits entitled them to wear it, while the others wore one or more eagle feathers at the back of the head. The costumes of the Caddos were very distinct, being similar to those of the southeastern tribes. In later years, they copied the costumes of the Delawares, who had migrated from the east to the Caddo district. Like the Delawares the Caddos became experts in silverwork. Whereas all the other tribes of the group used hard-soled moccasins, the Caddos used the soft, one-piece moccasin of the eastern woodland tribes and, in recent years, employed the true Delaware moccasin.

In their arts, these tribes approached the Plains Nomads, and decorated their garments, charms, pouches, and other articles with elaborate beadwork, quillwork, and painting.

Coming now to the true plains Indians we find a number of tribes inhabiting the territory from Nebraska to Canada and from northern Texas to the Rocky Mountains. Among the tribes grouped together as Plains Nomads are the southerly Comanches and Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches of western Texas, Oklahoma, etc.; the Blackfeet, Assiniboins, and Crows of Montana and southern Canada; the Teton-Sioux, the Cheyennes, and the Arapahoes, Among these various tribes several racial and lin-

guistic stocks are represented, the larger number being Siouan, while others are Algonquin, Shoshonean, Athabascan, and Kiowan.

As all these tribes were dependent upon the buffalo for a living, they were of necessity nomadic and followed the herds in their migrations. But each tribe kept more or less strictly to its own territory and often had large and populous villages. All were expert horsemen and owned large herds of ponies, and all were noted for their prowess in battle. Owing to the importance of horses to these Indians, and to the crippling effect their loss had upon a tribe, it became considered a high honor to capture horses from an enemy and many times war parties set out with the sole aim of stealing horses and made no attempt to molest or kill their tribal enemies unless forced to do so in self-defense.

Although the buffaloes were their principal game, yet many other creatures were hunted with bow and arrow, or were trapped or driven into pounds. Fishing was not important; but where there were rivers with fish, these tribes captured them with willow traps or with bone hooks. Although there was no true agriculture, yet a certain amount of tobacco was raised, and nuts, wild grains, roots, etc., were collected and eaten, while berries and fruits were dried for winter use.

Their principal weapon was the bow and arrow with which they were very expert. The bow used was very distinct from the long eastern and southern types. Although rarely over three and one-half feet in length, rather flat and of the double-curve

type, yet it was extremely powerful, and was often strengthened by sinews cemented to the back. Occasionally, the bows were made of horn. The arrows, about two feet in length, were provided with three long feathers, and the shafts were scored or grooved, either in straight or zigzag fashion, to permit the free flow of blood from a stricken animal or man. Originally, the arrowheads were of stone, bone, antler, or even dried buffalo gristle, but with the arrival of the white men, steel heads came into general use.

In addition to bows and arrows, these tribes used long-bladed lances, which were sometimes combined with a bow, the latter weapon being fitted with a lance head at one extremity; and stone-headed skull-crackers. All used the circular buffalo-hide shield.

The pipe used for smoking by these tribes was the so-called "peace-pipe" form with a heavy L-shaped red or black stone bowl, and long, flat, often carved, wooden stem. The pipe was kept in a specially made bag together with the tobacco and herbs used by the Indians, and these bags often exhibit the highest and most elaborate type of bead, quill, and scalp-lock decorations.

None of these nomadic tribes used true canoes, but all made the skin bull boats for crossing wide streams. For overland transportation, they of course used horses, the people riding, and the baggage, tents, and household utensils being carried on two poles or *travois,* one end of each pole being attached to a horse, the other ends trailing on the ground. To these poles was lashed an oval or cir-

cular netted frame on which the various articles were packed. Before horses were used, similar but smaller travois were dragged by dogs.

In their saddlery and horse trappings, these Indians took great pride, and covered their saddlery with the most ornate and beautiful bead and silver decorations. Sometimes the horse's entire head and neck were covered by a buckskin hood completely covered with the most magnificent beadwork. Two types of saddles were in use: one for the men, the other for the women. The former were made of wood or antlers and had low pommels and cantles, while the woman's saddle was provided with an extremely high pommel and cantle. Breast bands and cruppers were used, as well as bridles, although the latter were more ornamental than useful, as the ordinary rule was to use a rope twisted about the horse's lower jaw. Handsomely beaded saddle-blankets of buckskin were also used, as well as riding whips or quirts. Very often the men's saddles served as pack saddles. For carrying goods on these the Indians used trunklike cases of rawhide for food and other articles, and soft leather cases for clothing.

For dwellings these Indians used the conical tepee of skins with a movable wind flap at each side of the smoke-hole. An interior lining protected the occupants from draughts of cold air. Usually these tepees were provided with comfortable back rests made of willow rods and supported on tripods or, if the camp was to be permanent for some time, raised couches were built which were supported on

forked sticks. In addition to the rawhide boxes and leather cases, the household utensils and furnishings consisted of buffalo robes, wooden bowls and spoons, horn spoons and dishes, stone-headed pounders, and stone mortars, a few skin-dressing tools, and occasionally a few baskets. Liquids were boiled by placing them in a piece of hide suspended in a hole in the earth, into which hot stones were dropped.

In their religions these tribes varied somewhat, although all believed in a multiplicity of spirits and a supreme being, who was often considered the sun. Among their religious ceremonials the most important and famous was the sun dance, at which the men underwent terrible self-inflicted tortures as the fulfillment of vows made to the sun-god in return for favors shown during the preceding year. Ghost dances were also held, and the Peote ceremony (Chapter VIII) was important with some tribes.

Medicine bundles and sacred bundles were common, as were medicine shields and weapons. Secret societies were in vogue. Among the Kiowas, the Buffalo Doctors comprised a powerful cult or society, and, as we would expect, a great majority of the medicines, charms, and ceremonies of these tribes had to do with the buffalo.

In their games these tribes differed little from the other Indians. In addition to true games, they had a number of forms of spinning tops and dolls for the children's amusement.

In their costumes, these tribes were the most picturesque and showy of any North American

Indians, and it is their costume which has become almost universally accepted by the public as the typical get-up of any Indian. So widespread has this idea become that it is necessary for any Indian, who appears in moving pictures, in a circus, a side show, at a public function, or in a Wild West show, to don the costume of the Plains Nomads—war bonnet and all—in order to fulfill the public's idea of what an Indian should look like in his native dress.

The war bonnet, in particular, has become the white man's ideal of the universal Indian headdress, although as a matter of fact, this was peculiar to comparatively few tribes and even among them was not worn by every man. Indeed, the war bonnet was a badge of distinction and could not, according to tribal rules, be worn by a man until he had accomplished some brave and noteworthy feat. Ordinarily these Indians wore one or more eagle feathers, or a tuft of feathers and beadwork, attached to the hair on the back of the head, while at times, they wore fur or skin hoods or caps decorated with beadwork, feathers, or antelope or bison horns.

Aside from the headdress, the costume of the men consisted of a short shirt with heavily fringed sleeves, a short breechcloth, heavily-fringed leggings, or leggings with broad flaps at the sides, and hard-soled, low moccasins. The woman's dress consisted of a long buckskin gown with short, wide, fringed sleeves, short leggings, and moccasins, or in the case of some tribes, leggings and moccasins in one piece.

All of these garments, as well as pipe bags, bow cases, quivers, knife sheaths, medicine bags, headdresses, tobacco pouches, and the skin robes worn in cold weather, were beautifully made and elaborately decorated, for among all these tribes, the arts of painting, featherwork, quillwork, beadwork, and scalp-lock work were most highly developed. In the old days, the quillwork, and painting were of course predominant, and the women, who made all the quill embroidery and the decorative painting, became true artists. The men, however, were the artists who painted the pictures depicting battles, hunts, and other exploits upon the robes and tepees, and in this work they showed themselves excellent draughtsmen with a keen sense of form, some of the pictures being most realistic and full of action.

With the introduction of glass beads, a new art was developed, although more or less of the old quillwork technique was employed in embroidering with beads. The various tribes adopted slightly different methods of sewing on the beads, the Indians of the central district applying the beads in short loops, while those of the north and south sewed the beads on the groundwork separately, and produced a smoother, more even result. Although the beads largely supplanted the quills for decorative art, yet for many purposes the former were preferable, and as a rule, both are combined in the ornamental work of these tribes.

In their patterns, these Indians differed markedly from the southern woodland, eastern woodland, or any of the northeastern and southeastern tribes

already described. Curved lines and floral designs were never used. Instead, the figures were all angular and were usually purely geometric, although conventionalized figures of horses, buffalo, birds, and other creatures, as well as tepees, human figures, and highly conventionalized designs which originally may have been floral, abounded.

Other objects employed by these tribes for ornamental effects consisted of dentalium shells from the Pacific coast, which were obtained by trade, bear claws, elk teeth, bird-wing bones, fur, metal jinglers, silver, ribbon, colored cloth, scalp locks, and dyed horsehair.

It is difficult to say which tribes reached the highest development in these decorative arts. Probably the finest beadwork is that of the central tribes, such as the Teton-Sioux, Arapahoes, and Cheyennes, while the most carefully and the finest made garments are those of the southern tribes, such as the Kiowas and Comanches. But these were not universal nor hard and fast rules. Very often, specimens of the most magnificent bead- and quill-work are seen among the southern races; the northern Crows and Blackfeet produce marvelous decorative work; and many of the beautifully tanned deerskin costumes, dyed or painted, wonderfully fringed, and gorgeously decorated, are to be found among the northern tribes.

Wherever it was possible to use any of the various decorative materials, these tribes did so. Women's dresses were often loaded down with elk teeth, beadwork, and silver ornaments; the men's

costumes, especially their ceremonial regalia, were frequently so covered with beads and scalp-lock trimmings that the foundation material was invisible. Even with the introduction of cloth and its substitution for skins, these Indians continued to decorate the material in the same manner, and the most utilitarian articles were covered with ornamental work.

Particularly was this the case with the baby-carriers. Among the northern tribes these were made of oval boards pointed at the lower end and with a slipperlike case in which the baby was lashed. Among the central tribes, the case was attached to two sticks connected by crosspieces, while the southern tribes substituted boards for sticks. Among the central and northern tribes the true carrier or case was frequently used without the framework.

Although these Plains Nomads have, in the past, caused more trouble to the encroaching whites than any other groups of Indians, and have fought stubbornly and valiantly to preserve their ancestral homes and the herds of buffalo which were their very existence, yet, almost always, some of the tribes were friendly and were often allies of the whites. Moreover, much of the success of our Indian fighters has been due to the aid rendered by Indian scouts, guides, and "dog soldiers."

To-day, all these tribes are peaceful and many have adopted the ways of civilization and have become prosperous farmers and ranchers and have succeeded in other professions. Many of the young men and women are college graduates, and many an

Indian youth of these nomadic tribes has made a name for himself in athletic events. Still, many of the tribesmen adhere to their ancient mode of life, their picturesque costumes, and their skin tepees, and give a touch of the old frontier days to the modernized west.

CHAPTER XVII

INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWESTERN DESERTS

INHABITING the deserts, the mountains, and the mesas of our southwestern states and northern Mexico, are a number of tribes wholly different in racial and linguistic stocks, physical characters, mode of life, customs, dress, and habits from any of the true plains Indians. Owing to the great diversity of customs and racial affinities among these tribes, they may be best considered when divided into three groups. These are the Desert Nomads, the Pueblos, and the Piman-Yuman-Seri tribes.

Of these, the Desert Nomads are perhaps the best known of the warlike desert tribes, for they include the Navajos and true Apaches who, although inhabiting the deserts of the far southwest and showing no resemblance in customs, arts or other characters to the far northern and eastern tribes, are, nevertheless, of the same ancestral stock and speak dialects of the Athabascan tongue.

Wanderers by nature, and ever noted for their savage, warlike character, these tribes have always been dreaded by the more peaceful sedentary Indians, and in the past were dreaded equally by the whites of the regions where they lived. It must not be supposed that these fierce, desert nomads

devoted all their time to warfare, for they developed many arts and industries, had a social organization, and far from simple religious and ceremonial customs. In a way, these Indians were a sort of *banditti,* who gained their livelihood by hunting and by plundering their neighbors. But they also gathered many vegetal products, such as the seeds of wild plants, nuts, fruits, and berries, and even practiced agriculture in a small way. Fish, however, were never eaten, even when abundant, as these creatures were protected by a taboo.

Moreover, for many years, the Navajos have been devoted to sheep-raising and have become prosperous through this industry and the weaving of the famous Navajo rugs and blankets. Even the once-dreaded Apaches have become peaceful and earn a livelihood as laborers, cattlemen, farmers, etc. For hunting and in warfare, these tribes used short bows, rectangular in section, and backed with a layer of sinews glued to the wood. The arrows were of two forms; one of wood with stone or metal heads, the other a long shaft of reed or cane with a wooden foreshaft carrying the stone or metal point. Other weapons of these tribes were knives and a peculiar form of war club or slung shot consisting of a heavy stone ball covered with hide and loosely attached to a long handle which was often pliable.

Having used horses for a very long period, the Navajos being the first nomadic Indians to secure horses from the Pueblos, the tribes transported everything on horseback. Before they acquired horses they made long and forced marches afoot,

carrying their belongings on their backs or on their dogs.

Their dwellings were rude, dome-shaped huts of brush for summer use, and, at least among the Navajos, earth-covered houses or *hogans* of logs. The house furnishings consisted of innumerable blankets, baskets (at weaving which the Apaches were very expert), some crude pottery utensils, water bottles of coiled basketry coated with pitch, and similar household utensils.

The baby-carriers used were of two distinct types. That of the Apaches was an elliptical, wooden frame to which cross slats were tied, and had a head-protecting hoop of willow wands. Within this, the child was placed, sheathed in a laced-up case of deerskin. The Navajo cradle was composed of two wooden slabs fastened side by side to form a wide board upon which the child was lashed with deerskin thongs, its head being protected by a wide wooden hoop, and its feet resting on a footboard like that of the eastern tribes.

For smoking, these tribes used pipes of the plains type but smaller, and cornhusk cigarettes, which were preferred to pipes except for ceremonial purposes.

In their games, these tribes showed an intense gambling spirit and, since the introduction of Spanish playing cards from Mexico, they have become inveterate card players. Formerly their gambling was confined to horse races, archery and athletic contests, shinny, the dice-and-bowl game, and hoop and pole.

Their religions, especially that of the Navajos, are very complex, as are their ceremonials. The Navajos' religion includes a vast number of deities, such as animal gods, nature gods, local gods, etc., with a most involved and extensive mythology, hundreds of carefully formulated songs and prayers, complicated ceremonies, and innumerable rites. Many of their most important and long-drawn-out ceremonies are for the purpose of curing the sick, while others are of a strictly religious nature, and are accompanied by the use of masks, dry paintings, and mysterious secret rituals. Among these Indians, the most sacred and revered deity is the "Woman Who Rejuvenates Herself," who is probably the symbolic goddess of nature.

In many of these ceremonials, the costumes and regalia are most elaborate and remarkable. Immense headdresses of painted wood are used by the Apaches in their devil dance. These strange affairs are also decorated with feathers and often project several feet from the wearers' heads, and in some respects they remind one of the wooden headdresses worn by the Pueblo Indians in their dances.

Charms and amulets, as well as sacred bundles, are in common use by these tribes, and the Apaches in particular have the greatest faith in such talismans. They believe that a crude, wooden figurine, carved from a tree riven by lightning, is a sure protection from thunderbolts, and that ocean shells cut into certain shapes will prevent illness when they are worn or carried on the person.

In their costumes, these tribes varied somewhat.

Among all the tribes, the men wore deerskin shirts with fringes, breechcloths, and foot coverings, the Navajo footwear being true moccasins, whereas the Apaches used high boots with hard soles turned up at the toes. To this costume the Navajos added leggings, consisting of flat pieces of skin wrapped about the legs, below the knees, and held in place by woven garters. In addition to these typical costumes, there was the distinctive dress of the Jicarillas (an Apache tribe) who, having been influenced by contact with the southern plains Indians, wore long, heavily-fringed leggings and low moccasins.

The typical Apache headdress was a cap ornamented with painted designs, and bearing a few feathers or antelope, buffalo, or cow horns, or a bristly crest or comb of hair suggestive of the Roman legionaries. Occasionally, too, a war bonnet was used, but these were the exception, and were borrowed, copied, or stolen from the plains Indians. The Navajo headdress was usually a fillet or band, sometimes ornamented with silver or turquoise beads, and strikingly like the headgear of the Chilean Mapuches who resemble the Navajos in many ways.

The costume of the Apache woman consisted of a rather short deerskin skirt, a deerskin cape or poncho, and high, hard-soled, upturned-toed boots. The Navajo women wore simple, woven woolen gowns, and moccasins to which were fastened long strips of leather which were wound about the legs like spiral putties. Different from either of these costumes was that of the Jicarilla women, who wore

long gowns of soft tanned buckskin, short leggings, and moccasins.

None of the garments of these tribes, nor their other articles, were as highly decorated as those of the plains Indians, although the Apaches attained great dexterity, and showed an artistic taste, in their painted and beadwork ornamentation. In their designs, the Apaches showed distinct individuality and preferred fine lines with delicate and intricate patterns, to the broad, heavy masses and splashes of color typical of the plains tribes. Sunlike and star figures, triangles, and steplike designs are abundant, while alternating lines of black and white, or bands of lighter and darker shades, are typical of their beadwork.

In their basketry, also, the Apaches showed an æsthetic sense and a high state of workmanship. The best of the baskets were made in the coiled weave, often showing beautiful patterns mainly in geometric forms, but often representing human and animal figures. Many of their baskets are very large and of vase shape designed for storage purposes.

The Navajos, on the other hand, showed their artistic and industrial talents in their textile and silverwork. On the crudest of hand looms they wove soft, durable world-famous rugs, blankets, garters, belts, saddle blankets, and cloth, all of delightful characteristic patterns and harmoniously blended colors, using the wool of their own sheep, ravelings of trade cloth, and commercial yarns. Their silverwork, which reached a high state of

development, was apparently of comparatively modern origin, and was probably copied from the silverwork of the Mexicans. However that may be, the Navajos seem to have been born silversmiths, and with the crudest of tools, they produce silver bracelets, brooches, earrings, buttons, rings, buckles, and other ornaments which are really remarkable.

Very distinct from these desert nomads, and unique among all American tribes in their mode of life, are the Pueblos. Although now confined to a rather small area in New Mexico and Arizona, they once inhabited a wide stretch of territory extending over Utah, Colorado, and part of Nevada. According to their traditions, the Pueblo tribes originally existed as small bands who migrated from various localities, and, for greater safety, established homes in caves and under projecting cliffs, on mesa tops, and in valleys, wherever they could raise their crops and could find water for irrigation. But, little by little, owing largely to raids by nomadic and predatory tribes, the villages were abandoned, until at the time of the Spanish conquest, only seventy pueblos remained, which have dwindled so that at the present time only twenty-eight remain.

But even though we know much of the Pueblos and their ancestors, the cliff dwellers' life and habits, no one can say positively who the Pueblos are or whence they came. Many theories have been suggested, among others that they are the descendants of the mound builders who were driven from the Mississippi and Ohio valleys by warlike tribes

or even by the Norsemen. The last theory is, however, scarcely tenable, for the date of the Vikings' arrival in America is placed between 1000 and 1100 A.D. and we know, from prehistoric remains and geological evidence, that the ancestors of the present-day Pueblos dwelt in cliffs and houses in the Southwest, and possessed many of the arts, customs, industries, and characters of the living Pueblos, hundreds if not thousands of years before the accepted date of the Norsemen's invasion.

Moreover, the Pueblo Indians are not, as is generally supposed, all of one tribe or even of one race. Indeed, four distinct racial stocks are represented among the Pueblos, these being: the Keresan, the Zuñian, the Shoshonean, and the Tanoan. And each of these has its own pueblos and its own customs, arts and other individual characteristics. Thus, the Tanoan people inhabit the pueblos of Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta of the Tigua group; the villages of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Nambe, Pojoaque, and Hano of the Tewas group in Arizona; and Jemez of the Jemez-Pecos group. The Keresans inhabit the pueblos of Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, Acoma, and Laguna. The Zuñis occupy their own three pueblos, and the Hopis (known also as Moquis) are confined to Walpi, Sichomovi, Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi, Shongopovi, Oraibi, Hotavila and Pakavi.

The most outstanding characteristics of all these tribes are their houses and villages. It was, in fact, these which gave to these Indians the name Pueblos, the Spanish word for town, village, or place, which

was bestowed upon these tribes by the early Spaniards in order to distinguish them from the nomadic Indians. Mainly for defensive purposes, the Pueblo houses are built one over another in clusters or communities, each tier being set back of the one below, much in the manner of our New York zoning system, so that the roof of one house forms the door-yard of the next above it. A few years ago the Zuñis had six such tiers of dwellings, but as the need of defense from roving warlike Indians has passed, the Indians to-day build single dwellings apart from the communal groups.

Entrance to the lowest tier of houses, and sometimes to the others, was through a skylight or hatchway in the roof. This was reached by ladders which were pulled up at night or when an enemy appeared, thus transforming the village into a fairly impregnable fortress.

Ordinarily, the houses were of sandstone which, occurring in thin strata, was easily quarried. In ancient days many of the Indians squared and faced the stone slabs of which their dwellings were built, and even placed the layers of stone so as to produce a banded effect; but in recent times this was rarely done, the Indians contenting themselves with covering the stonework with adobe plastering. Although adobe blocks or bricks are used in the construction of some pueblos, these are of recent date and were introduced by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. A not uncommon aboriginal practice, however, was to roll balls or "loaves" of adobe, and use these in house-building in place of stones.

Owing to the fact that, previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, the Pueblos had no domestic animals except dogs, and hence had no adequate means of transportation, it was necessary for the timbers and roof beams to be dragged by hand for long distances. Consequently the rooms in ancient times were very small. Across the main beams, smaller timbers were placed crosswise, and over these, osiers, grass, and bark, the whole being covered with a coating of adobe mud to form roofs, ceilings, and floors.

For better protection, both from enemies and cold, the doorways were always small, while the interiors of the houses were partly lighted by tiny windows glazed with thin slabs of crystallized gypsum or selenite. This served very well during the daytime, and at night the family fire furnished the illumination. Originally this was in a small stone fire box in the center of the floor, the smoke finding an exit through the trapdoor above; but it was supplanted, after the Spanish conquest, by corner fireplaces and chimneys surmounted with pottery vessels with the bottoms removed, the vessels being placed one above another to form veritable chimney pots. The floors were either of hard, plastered earth, of adobe, or of stone flagging, and were kept scrupulously clean.

As a rule, the kitchen was apart from the main living room, and in this was baked the time-honored Pueblo corn bread in waferlike sheets cooked on smooth stone slabs over a fire. Much of the cooking was, however, done out of doors, and nowadays,

many of the Indians use the dome-shaped Spanish type of oven.

In sharp contrast to the other desert-dwelling tribes, the Pueblos are preëminently agriculturalists, and in their well-tilled and cleverly irrigated fields they raise a great variety of both native and introduced vegetables, grains, and fruits, which are augmented by wild vegetal foods and game. In addition to these foodstuffs, the modern Pueblos raise horses, cattle, sheep, asses, goats, and poultry.

Nowadays, little hunting is done, owing to the scarcity of game; but communal rabbit hunts are still carried out. In these the men and boys take part. Mounted on ponies, they surround the animals within a predetermined area, and driving them together, kill them with the peculiar boomerang-like rabbit sticks.

In former years, the Pueblos made use of many game charms or fetishes, which represented various creatures, such as wolves, eagles, bears, pumas, badgers, etc., together with moles, ground owls, coyotes, and others. The cardinal directions of these, the Indians believed, magically controlled the game. When an animal was killed, the fetish was dipped in its blood, a custom somewhat akin to that of the South American tribes who always make offerings and profuse apologies to any animal they destroy.

In old days, of course, the Pueblos used bows and arrows (although firearms are now in general use), as well as many forms of traps and snares, while rabbits and other burrowing animals were often

drowned out of their holes by diverting water, as in irrigating.

As was the custom among the Apaches and Navajos, fish were taboo, and were never eaten. Oddly enough, too, the Taos Pueblos used snowshoes, which, although smaller than those of the northern Indian tribes, were no doubt derived from them in prehistoric times.

Being agriculturists with fixed dwellings and towns, the Pueblos were naturally of a docile and peaceful nature, the word "Hopi" meaning peaceful people. But they were by no means either timid or cowardly, and in their former battles with the Apaches, Navajos, and Utes they invariably gave a good account of themselves, and fought most valiantly, and often successfully, against these most savage and warlike of Indians.

Their weapons were bows, arrows, and clubs, together with shields, although the latter were carried more for their supposed magical powers of protection than for their actual efficiency.

Among the Pueblos, societies and clans held an important place, and many occupations or professions were the perquisites of certain societies or guilds, such as the warrior societies, the "Mud heads" or sacred clowns; the medicine societies, etc. Owing no doubt to their fairly secure sedentary life, their abundance of food, and their long dreary winters with nothing to occupy them, the Pueblos developed a very devout and complex religion, and a most elaborate series of dances and ceremonials, the ultimate purpose of most of these being to pro-

duce rain, which was of the highest importance to these tribes.

In many of their ceremonies, the Indians don grotesque masks supposed to represent various mythological personages of great power. Among these are the *Koyemashi* or Mud heads already mentioned, while others are highly conventionalized representations of human and animal heads, each with its sacred and symbolic significance. Among the Zuñis and Hopis, it is a common custom to make miniature figures representing the various *Kachinas* or sacred personages of their ceremonials, and these are given to the children as dolls or toys.

Dances play a very important part in all of these ceremonials, the dancers being accompanied with songs or chants, and by musical instruments such as turtle-shell rattles, gourd rattles, rattling deer hoofs, cones of tin, jinglers of shells, and drums which were formerly of pottery but are now of wood and which are beaten with a curious, flexible drumstick with the end bent in circular form.

So intensely religious are the Pueblos, that almost every act or undertaking is accompanied by a ceremonial or a dance, these manifestations of a desire to invoke divine aid varying from the well-known snake dance and corn dance to placing plumed prayer sticks on shrines or elsewhere, or scattering the sacred meal.

As household utensils, the Pueblos possessed a vast amount of very highly finished and beautiful pottery vessels, the Pueblo women having attained a remarkable skill as potters, and the Pueblos, from

prehistoric days, having produced the best pottery of all North American peoples. All of their ceramic ware, except cooking utensils, are usually highly decorated by paintings in geometrical designs. Formerly figures were sometimes used, and animal and bird-shaped receptacles or effigy vessels are known. Although various colors are used in their pottery decorations, the most characteristic designs are in black and white.

In addition to their pottery, the Pueblos had excellent baskets, although these tribes never reached the perfection in basketry that was attained by the Indians of California. Mats, woven of yucca strips, were also used, for bedding, for placing under food, and for covering the skylights of the houses, as well as for lining graves, and to prevent sacred objects from touching the floor, as for example prayer sticks in process of manufacture.

Textiles were also widely used, the Pueblos from time immemorial growing, ginning, spinning, and weaving cotton. Their cotton cloth was, in fact, an important article of trade, and formed a large part of the costumes of men and women. With the introduction of sheep, wool took the place of cotton for many purposes, and the Hopis and Zuñis, especially, became noted as weavers of woolen blankets, rugs, garters, belts, etc. In fact it is probable that the wool-weaving art of the Navajos was learned from the Pueblo women who had been taken prisoners and adopted into the Navajos tribes.

For domestic appliances, the Pueblos used metates and grinding troughs; mortars and pestles; stools

of wood, boxes for containing feathers; stirring sticks for use in cooking; digging sticks and hoes for agriculture; brushes of grass, one end of the brush being used for the hair, the other for sweeping the floors; gourd and wooden dippers; cradles or baby-carriers of wood; and crude wooden looms.

Originally, the Pueblos wore costumes of soft tanned leather or homemade cotton and woolen cloth, together with feather robes and other garments, and winter robes made of strips of rabbit skin. But to-day, clothing of conventional cut and machine-made material is the rule. However, the Indians still adhere more or less to their leggings and moccasins, the latter being of the hard-soled type and those of the Taos Indians showing the influence of the neighboring Utes and Jicarillas. During ceremonies, the old-time costumes are worn, together with feather decorations and highly ornamented regalia. At such times, heel bands of beautiful quillwork are worn with sky-blue moccasins, and truly gorgeously painted, beaded and quill-embroidered, and fringed garments of buckskin are used.

As ornaments, the Pueblos are fond of necklaces of beads, shell, turquoise and silver (the latter being perquisites of the women), earrings of the same materials, and belts ornamented by large silver disks laced to a leather strap. Buttons of silver are used for fastening moccasins and ornamenting these and the leggings; and finger rings and bracelets, often studded with turquoise, are worn in profusion by the women, especially on gala occasions.

Formerly, mosaics of turquoise on wood were used as ear pendants by the women of the Hopis and Zuñis, and in their hair they used combs of the same construction. The turquoise-work is now almost a forgotten art, although the Keres of Santo Domingo Pueblo have revived the ancient art of making turquoise pendants and jet mosaics on shell, which find a ready market among the hundreds of white visitors and tourists who now swarm through Pueblo land each year.

Aside from such articles as are made by these Indians solely for commercial purposes, little of true Indian origin now remains, and even among the conservative Zuñis and Hopis, weaving is almost a lost art. In a few years, the picturesque and interesting Pueblos will be scarcely distinguishable from their Mexican neighbors, and only in their dances and ceremonials will they retain the customs of their ancestors.

Last of the desert Indians are the tribes belonging to the Piman-Yuman-Seri group, which includes the Yumas, Mohaves, Walapis, Havasupis, Maricopas, and Cocopas of the Yuman linguistic family; the Pimas, Papagos, Opatas, and Yaquis of the Piman stock, and the Seris, who are of a distinct linguistic race. Several of these tribes are often, though erroneously, referred to as Apaches, though they are of totally distinct race.[1]

Of these various tribes, the Yuman tribes occupy the territory drained by the lower Colorado River

[1] According to some ethnologists, the Yaquis are more closely related to the Apaches than to the Piman-Yuman tribes.

and its tributaries in Arizona and California, with the Havasupi in Cataract Canyon of the Grand Canyon of Arizona, and the Cocopas in Lower California. The Piman tribes occupy the basins of the Gila and Salt rivers in Arizona, and extend into Mexico. The Opatas are chiefly on the Rio Sonora, while the Yaquis occupy Sonora, mainly on the stream that bears their name. The Seris, sole survivors of a separate linguistic stock, inhabit Tiburón Island in the Gulf of California, and the adjacent Mexican coast districts.

Although all of these tribes differed in some ways, and each had its peculiarities, yet in many ways all were similar. All were more or less agricultural and were not truly nomadic. All secured much of their provender by gathering wild vegetables, fruits, tubers, etc., and all hunted such game as their respective habitats afforded.

Among the Pimas, the typical house was a dome-shaped structure erected over a shallow excavation, and constructed of a heavy framework supporting mesquite brush covered with arrow-weed thatch, and plastered with mud, and with the doorway facing the east. Near the house, a separate shelter, consisting of a roof without walls, was erected for cooking purposes.

The Pimas are mainly vegetarians, raising large quantities of grain and gathering mesquite and tornillo beans, wild berries, fruits, roots, and seeds. For meat they use rabbits, birds, and fish, and, in former times, hunted deer.

Clothing troubled the Pimas but little, the men's

costume, in past years, consisting mainly of a breechcloth, rawhide sandals, and a robe of skin in cold weather. The dress of the Pima women amounted to little more, consisting of a strip of native woven cotton about the thighs, and, occasionally, a scanty cape or cloak over the shoulders. Facial painting and tattooing, and body painting, were almost universal.

Although apparently so primitive, yet the Pimas were by no means lacking in arts. Their baskets are famed for their beauty and quality, the typical form being bowl shaped, and having decorations made in black of interwoven strands of the fiber of the unicorn plant in geometrical patterns, and often further embellished with red-pigment designs. Very often these Pima baskets are of huge size for storage purpose or as granaries, and are constructed in place on the tops of the houses.

A typical Pima device is the utensil known as the *Kiho,* used for carrying burdens. The body of this utensil is netted of fiber with ornamental patterns in openwork, sometimes colored, and is supported by a wooden hoop and four cross poles, the whole being carried by a head band or tump line. This device, by the way, is found among many tropical American tribes.

Pottery-making is also a Pima industry, many of their vessels being well formed and most attractively decorated. In beadwork they show excellent ability and an artistic taste, their bead collars and necklaces woven in a form of loopstitch being very beautiful in design, pattern, and color combinations. In

their dances the Pimas wear crude masks made from gourds. Records of all important events are kept by means of sticks carved and colored in symbolic designs.

In contrast to the Pima dwellings are the houses of the related Papagos. These structures are formed of three forked posts supporting a ridgepole, with shorter posts set in a circle to form the wall timbers. Poles are then placed across from ridgepole to wall supports, and the whole is thatched with grass or arrow weed and covered with mud. Another form of Papago house is rectangular and made of wattle and daub construction.

Like the Pimas, the Papagos are largely vegetarian in diet and although they cultivate some vegetables and corn they depend more upon mesquite and tornillo beans, grass seeds, cactus fruits, and roots, which are eked out by small game and occasional deer.

Except in minor details the Papago arts were like those of the Pimas, and in their costumes the tribes differed little. The Papago men wore breechcloths, and at times a cotton poncho, and their rawhide sandals were of double thickness. The women wore a long dress of deerskin or a close-fitting, sleeveless waist, and a native cotton skirt extending below the knees. Many of the old women wore only the skirt; but the younger women covered the upper portion of the body.

Perhaps the best known of this racial group are the Yaquis who, since time immemorial, have resisted the encroachments and oppressions of the

Mexicans, and have won a reputation for courageous and savage fighting that is only exceeded by that of our Apaches. During the various Mexican revolutions, thousands of Yaquis have served as irregular troops under various leaders and have done good work; thousands have been deported to Yucatan; thousands have been sold into virtual slavery; thousands have been killed in fighting or butchered out of hand; but still the Yaquis refuse to submit to Mexican tyranny. To-day nearly all the surviving members of the tribe profess Christianity and are civilized.

These Indians dwell in fairly large communities and depend mainly upon agriculture, cultivating the restricted soil of their fertile valleys. Their customs are largely those of the Mexicans, but a few aboriginal habits, traits, and religious ceremonies still prevail among them. Their houses are rectangular, built of poles and thatched with reeds, and have a flat or slightly sloping grass roof covered with adobe mud.

Their baskets are of excellent quality, especially their double-weave baskets with one basket woven inside another, the weave being continuous from the starting point at the bottom of the inner basket to the base of the outer one where the work ends. So fine are some examples of the Yaqui twilled basketry that they can only be compared with the best Panama hats. In addition to basketry, the Yaquis make excellent pottery, and weave very good cotton and woolen cloth on hand looms.

In their ceremonials they use elaborately carved

wooden masks, often painted, and with fierce, bristling eyebrows, mustaches, and beards of horsehair. Feather wands are also used, as well as flutes, drums, and rattles of various forms. One peculiar type of rattle is made of dried cocoons filled with pebbles and strung on cords and wrapped about the dancer's legs.

As weapons, the Yaquis now prefer firearms, but many still adhere to the old-time bows and arrows which are carried in well-made bow case and quiver combinations made of skin. They also use large, circular shields of cowhide and jaguar skin, which are excellent protections from arrows.

At the present time, the Mexican government is planning a campaign of extermination against these Indians who have resented various oppressions on the part of the Mexicans. Perhaps, as in the past, the Yaquis may be victorious (as we may sincerely hope); but the chances are that the Mexican troops, with their friendly Indian allies, and equipped with airplanes, bombs, poison gas, and all the other devilish paraphernalia of modern warfare, will succeed in their efforts and that, very soon, the Yaquis, as a tribe, will be wiped from the face of the earth.

Another tribe of this group is the Yuma. Their houses, at the present time, are very similar to those of the Yaquis, but have the walls constructed of two layers of poles with the intervening space filled with mud. Formerly this tribe used the dome-shaped, pole-framed, brush and mud-covered house, much like that of the Pimas.

Oddly enough, the Yumas, who are most primi-

tive in many ways, use a baby-carrier which is the most comfortable and elaborate of those of any tribe. This cradle is well and neatly made of basketry and is padded and upholstered and provided with a pillow made of a circular pad. Over the head is a broad band, decorated with bright-colored cloth and beads, and ornamented with feathers.

Living as they do in a semitropical climate, these Indians have little need of clothing, and in the past, the Yumas generally dispensed with garments altogether. Later, they adopted breechcloths for the men, and a form of short, double apron of bark strips for the women. Both sexes used robes of rabbit skins in cold weather, and at times protected their feet with sandals of yucca fiber or horsehide.

Like the related tribes, the Yumas raised a few vegetables and gathered wild fruits, nuts, seeds, etc., and hunted small game, while fish were caught in the streams. For boats, these Indians used bundles of reeds or balsas.

In their pottery, the Yumas showed skill and art, much of their pottery ware being of excellent quality. Among their ceramics are many human figures showing the characteristic face and body painting for which these Indians are famous. Formerly they were given to painting themselves from head to foot, some appearing solid black, others red, others blue, etc.

Slightly different in their houses and a few other details are the Mohaves. Their dwellings are conical or dome shaped, and are erected over a circular hole about three feet in depth. The framework was

formerly of posts and poles covered with thatch and mud, although to-day the houses usually have vertical walls and the thatch is secured in place by means of wooden strips or battens. Their food supply was derived from the same sources as that of the related tribes. Their only true arts were basketry, beadwork of high quality, and pottery. The breechcloths of the men and the short skirts of the women were woven of shredded willow bark, while the sandals were of badger skin. Rabbit or wild-rat skin robes were worn in winter, and served also as bedding.

Closely related to the Yumas and other tribes described are the Cocopas, although, from ancient times, these Indians appear to have been at enmity with all the neighboring tribes. In nearly all respects, the Cocopas were practically identical with the other Yuman tribes. But their bows were more powerful, though crudely made, and their cane arrows had hardwood tips. Bows and arrows were carried in basket-work quivers. Their houses were mere brush shelters for summer and wattle-and-mud-walled huts for winter. Breechcloths and short skirts were the only clothes used by men and women respectively.

The "People of the Blue Water," as the Havasupi call themselves, dwell in the depths of Cataract Cañon, with the towering rim of the cañon walls nearly three thousand feet above their little villages and garden plots. Here, in an equable climate and a fertile soil, the Havasupis raise melons, beans, sunflowers, peaches, figs, and many garden vegetables and various grains, and find an abundance

of wild berries, nuts, roots, etc. In the winter, the Indians leave the cañon and, ranging the surrounding mountains, hunt deer, mountain sheep, and bear, whose flesh, cut into strips and dried, provides a supply of meat for the ensuing year. The skins are saved, tanned, and used for clothing, while the surplus hides are traded with other tribes, particularly the Hopis.

The Havasupi house was formerly of brush and tules in conical form; but to-day most of these Indians dwell in neat, frame houses.

In their dress, these Indians were far ahead of the Piman or Yuman tribes mentioned. The men wore a poncho-like shirt of deerskin, with loose, fringed sleeves, and belted at the waist; a deerskin breechcloth; fringed deerskin leggings reaching to the hips; and high-topped moccasins. The dress of the women was made of two deerskins sewed together with openings for head and arms, belted at the waist, and reaching to below the knees, and with the edges handsomely fringed. For extra warmth, and for bedding, soft robes of woven strips of rabbit skins were used.

Their principal art was basketry, the Havasupi baskets being beautifully made and in much demand by neighboring tribes. By coating baskets with clay, these Indians produced cooking utensils, while receptacles for liquids were formed by weaving bottle-shaped baskets and covering them with a watertight coating of piñon gum.

Last of this group of far southwestern tribes are the Seris, a very primitive, formerly hostile, and

little known race. On Tiburón Island, the Seri houses are mere shelters of brush, sometimes built in groups, and often covered with a sea-turtle's shell. Their food is mainly fish, mollusks, turtles, and water fowl, with some land game and such vegetables as wild mesquite beans, cactus fruits, etc.

Clothing consisted of short kilts and, sometimes, a loose-sleeved shirt woven of vegetable fiber, and at times robes of pelican skins sewed together with sinew thread. Belts and necklaces were made of dressed snakeskin, dressed deerskin, and of braided human hair.

Despite their extremely primitive state, the Seris used crude looms for weaving textiles of fiber and hair, and awls of bone and hardwood for making basketry. Some fairly good pottery was made, but as the Seris ordinarily preferred their food raw, there was little need of cooking utensils. Convenient sized sea shells served as cups, ladles, and dishes. The basketry was of the coiled type, usually bowl-shaped, and not badly made. Stone hammers were employed for cracking bones to obtain the marrow and for grinding food and grain, and chipped stone blades were used in cutting, scraping, and for similar purposes.

In hunting, bows and arrows were used, the bows being crude but powerful, while the arrows were stone, and later, metal tipped and beautifully made. Turtles and fish were captured by means of harpoons pointed with bone, stone, fire-hardened wood, or iron, and fitted with cane shafts. Occasionally these weapons were twenty feet in length and

formed of several pieces of wood lashed together.

Household utensils, aside from the few baskets and shells and pottery fragments, were practically nil, but a crude type of baby-carrier was used. This consisted of a bowed cane with cross sticks lashed to it and was supplied with a mattress or cushion of pelican skin and pelican down. Beadwork pouches of good quality were made, and some of the Seri bead and shell embroidery is excellent.

For crossing the Gulf of California, the Seris made use of reed balsas or rafts, tapering at the ends. These were not only buoyant and seaworthy but were actually graceful in form, and were often twenty-five feet in length by nearly three feet in beam.

Innumerable highly colored and ridiculous stories have been told about these Seri Indians. They have been pictured as terribly savage and courageous fighters, as enemies to every stranger, and as cannibals, head-hunters, giants, and what not. Many writers have credited them with almost superhuman powers of endurance and speed in running, and they have ever been surrounded with a wholly unwarranted halo of romance, mystery, and imagination. Most of the tales are as inaccurate and exaggerated as are the pictures showing the Seris as gigantic warriors garbed in war bonnets and fringed buckskin. The truth is that the Seris are a primitive, undernourished, rather undersized, and far from intelligent or warlike tribe, the degenerate descendants of some race which died out from its inability to take care of itself or to progress beyond the most

primitive state. In a way they are the prototypes of the Onas and Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego, who, likewise, have been the subjects of many exaggerated and wholly fictional yarns.

Like all savages, or civilized men for that matter, the Seris will fight when cornered or in self-defense or in defense of their lands and families; and in the past they have resisted, and successfully, attempts of Mexicans to land on and enter their territory. But they possess none of the military fighting spirit of the plains tribes, nor the bold savagery of the Apaches, and to-day many white men live within their territory. Like all the desert Indians, the Seris are good runners. Having for countless generations been accustomed to hardships, thirst, hunger, and heat, they possess a sinewy endurance which no white man, nor even a plains or woodland Indian, can hope to equal. But no Seri ever ran down a deer, unless the creature was sick or wounded, and the so-called "run" of these tribes is a dogtrot rather than a dash, the gait, in fact, best suited to covering long distances.

CHAPTER XVIII

INDIANS OF THE WESTERN PLATEAUS

ASIDE from the true plains Indians, there are a number of western tribes who inhabited the mountains and plateaus of the far west from Oregon and southeastern British Columbia to Arizona. For convenience, these have been divided into three groups, known as the Indians of the Northern Plateau, the Indians of the Interior Plateau, and the Indians of the Southern Plateau. The former includes those tribes whose homes were in Idaho, Montana, eastern Oregon and Washington, and southeastern British Columbia. Among them were the Shoshones and Bannocks of Shoshonean stock; the Nez Perces, Klikitats, Umatillas, Topinish, and Yakimas of Shahaptian stock; the Wascos of Chinook stock; and the Flatheads of Salishan ancestry, together with the Kutenay, who are regarded as a race by themselves.[1]

[1] Of this group of Indians, the Flatheads are of particular interest, owing to their peculiar custom of artificially distorting the heads of their children. This is accomplished by means of a board arranged to press upon the skull of the infant in such a way that the cranium becomes elongated and flattened, sloping directly from the eyebrows to the occiput. This custom of distorting children's heads is not, however, confined to the Flathead tribe. Many of the prehistoric tribes had similar practices, notably the Incas and pre-Incas, and among many existing South and Central American tribes the heads of the infants are molded to the Indian's conception of beauty by ligatures, boards, wrappings, or by the mother's hands.

Formerly, these Indians were more or less nomadic, their social organizations were rudimentary, and the chiefs had little power. But the introduction of horses wrought great changes in life and customs, and in other ways. Through this easier form of travel and transportation, the Northern Plateau tribes came into contact with the plains and other Indians, and adopted many of their neighbors' ways. To-day we find strong plains Indian influence in many of the customs, and more particularly the styles of dress, of the plateau tribes.

For food, these tribes, except the Shoshones, depended mainly upon salmon, which were eaten fresh and were also dried and pounded to a sort of meal which could be kept for a long period of time. No agriculture was carried on, though many wild vegetable foodstuffs were used, and deer and other game were hunted. Some of the tribes, however, dwelt in districts where there were neither salmon, large game, nor abundant vegetable products, and these were grateful for grasshoppers, rats, small mammals, lizards, and grass seeds. Grasshoppers, in fact, are not unpalatable when prepared in Indian fashion—dried, pulverized, and made into a sort of bread. And I can testify from personal experience that fat, juicy caterpillars, fried to a crisp brown in boiling grease, are the equals of any soft-shelled crabs.

Salmon and other fish were caught by these Indians by means of dip nets, seines, weirs, traps, hook and line, and by spearing. For hunting, the bow and arrows were the favorite weapons. The

bows were made of horn or wood backed with sinews. With the arrows, they were kept in combined bow cases and quivers, beautifully made and elaborately decorated, the fur bow cases of the Nez Perces ranking among the handsomest articles of Indian craftsmanship known.

Before the use of horses, the hunters of these tribes were adepts at disguising themselves in skins of wild animals, which permitted them to approach within bow shot of their game. Traps and snares were also widely used, and buffaloes and other animals were often driven into pounds by large parties of Indians working together and surrounding the creatures.

Some of these tribes possessed rather rude dugouts. Other tribes made curiously designed canoes of pine or birch bark with long, ramlike, projecting ends. The Shoshones used reed rafts or balsas.

Probably the best of the tribes in culture, intelligence, and interest were the Nez Perces, who are also the best known, at least by name, to the general public. Two forms of dwellings were used by these Indians, the most popular being a mat-covered tepee, although the conical form was not always used, and an A-tent type was common. These were often large enough to accommodate several families, each with its separate quarters and household goods. The other form of house, used where camps were more or less permanent, consisted of a circular excavation or cellar covered with a low, domed roof of poles and earth. The entrance was through a hole in the center of the roof, and the occupants





INDIANS OF THE WEST

1. Pima-Yuma-Seri Group
2. Indians of Western Plateaus
3. Indians of the Pacific Coast (with Klamath and Modoc)
4. Indians of the Far Northwest

descended and ascended by means of a ladder consisting of a notched log.

In addition to these typical dwellings, a few tribes, such as the Shoshones and Bannocks, used the ordinary skin tepee of the plains, and in certain areas near the Columbia River, split-plank houses were used.

The furnishings consisted of mats and skins for bedding, robes of twisted strips of rabbit skins, baskets and woven pouches, rawhide trunks and skin cases, beautifully carved bowls and spoons of wood and horn, and wooden mortars with stone pestles. Stone mortars were also used to some extent, and stone hammers were used to drive wedges of deer antlers into logs to split them. The Shoshones alone made pottery, the other tribes cooking their food in water-tight baskets by means of hot stones dropped into the liquid.

Baby-carriers were in use, the cradle consisting of an elliptical-shaped board covered with deerskin which was loose on one side and thus formed a pouch for the infant.

For smoking, the Nez Perces and some other tribes used pipes of two types, one the L-shaped plains form with a long, flat, wooden stem; the other with a short stem and a small stone bowl.

Their religion, taking the Nez Perces as a type, consisted of a belief in a great many spirits of whom the sun was the chief. According to Indian belief, any one of these deities might become the guardian spirit of a person. The spirit's favor being won through fasting and prayer, it would reveal its iden-

tity by a vision. Dreams, produced either by hardship, fasting, or even by revelry, were believed to be direct means of communicating with the spiritual world, and every possible dream had its interpretation. Ceremonials and dances were innumerable, the most holy, or at least important, ceremony being that of the Guardian Spirit Dance in which only those persons honored by having guardian spirits could participate, and in which songs relating visions were chanted.

All these tribes were fond of games and sports, and aside from those common to many Indian tribes, the Nez Perces had a peculiar game played with bone cylinders, one of which bore a distinguishing mark. These were shuffled and then held in the hands of one player in such a manner that the marked portion of the cylinder was concealed. The other players then bet on which was the marked bone, counters of sticks being used like chips in a poker game.

In physical appearance these tribes varied considerably, but as a whole, they were light colored, pale yellow or coppery rather than brown, often olive, and had well-cut pleasing features, many of the girls being really handsome. In temperament they were not naturally savage, warlike, or hostile; and many possessed a nobility of character far greater than the white settlers, who treated these Indians with little or no consideration.

One of the most disgraceful and uncalled-for episodes of our long history of Indian troubles was the so-called Nez Perce War. Merely because these In-

dians became tired of continual treaty violations, broken promises, and land stealing on the part of the whites, and decided to trek into Canada and avoid further trouble, our government sent cavalry in pursuit of them, attacked them, shot them without mercy, and herded them back to a reservation. And this, despite the fact that the Nez Perces had always been friendly, and that, during the portion of their migration they accomplished before being surrounded by troops, they had killed no white person, had committed no acts of violence, and had not taken a scalp.

In their costumes these Indians have adopted the dress of the plains tribes, although originally the men wore only a breechcloth and moccasins, with a robe in winter, while the women contented themselves with a short waist cloth or apron and a winter robe. Since the acquisition of horses, the costume has become elaborate and picturesque. The men's costume consists of a shirt or tunic, breechcloth, leggings, and moccasins, and during ceremonies, or when entitled to it, the war bonnet. At other times, feather ornaments are worn at the back of the head. Sometimes a high, fur cap or hat is worn which resembles the well-known Cossack headgear, and which is often equipped with the horns of antelope, deer, buffalo, or other animals, with feather plumes, or with animal heads and tails. The costume of the women consists of a long gown and short leggings and moccasins. Although the typical moccasin of these tribes is a soft-soled form with a high top and a single seam along one side of the



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

ZUÑI WOMAN

ZUÑI MAN



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

ZUÑI VILLAGE, SHOWING RAIN DANCE
(From model by Wm. C. Orchard)

foot, the hard-soled plains moccasins are also used.

All of these garments are decorated with fringes, beadwork, quillwork, and elks' teeth, and while not as elaborate nor as colorful as those of the plains tribes, they have a distinctive character and beauty of their own.

In their arts, these tribes show great skill in basketry, in their beautifully woven bags and pouches, and in their ornately carved wooden and horn utensils. In their decorations, in carving, basketwork, and beadwork, geometric and angular figures prevail; but these are combined most artistically with elaborate floral designs, probably borrowed from the Crees.

Adjacent to the territory occupied by the foregoing tribes are a few tribes who cannot well be included in any of the other plateau groups. Such are the Klamaths and Modocs who dwelt about the California-Oregon border. The latter are known to the public chiefly by reason of the so-called Modoc War of 1872-73 which, like the Nez Perce campaign, was brought about by the Modocs' desire to live on their ancestral land in their own tribal manner. The Klamaths, on the other hand, have always been at peace with the whites, and hence are almost unknown to the average person. Both tribes are now mainly in Oregon, the Modocs who were exiled to Oklahoma having either died or returned to their old homes.

Although not truly nomadic, neither were these tribes true village Indians. There were more or less permanent settlements of houses constructed of wooden slabs, but these were usually deserted dur-

ing the summertime, sometimes for a few days, but often for the entire summer. Temporary camps were made wherever game or fish were abundant, these summer houses being rude shelters of brush or willow. In addition to hunting and fishing, on which these tribes really depended, these Indians gathered fruits, roots, berries, nuts, and particularly the seeds of pond lilies.

Their most noteworthy art was basketry; but beadwork, skin dressing, and similar industries were well developed. Their bows were large and powerful and were of peculiar design, being extremely broad between the tapered ends and the slender middle or hand grip, thus having a double, spear-head shape. They were, in fact, very similar to the bows of the tribes of the Pacific coast, and like these, were usually gayly painted in geometrical designs. Bows and arrows were kept in cases of skin, often highly decorated and fringed.

Basketwork hats were made and worn and for ceremonial occasions and when on the warpath, elaborate headdresses were used. For dance purposes these often combined headdress and mask in one piece. One form of these is made of the thin skin of a pelican's pouch, another from porcupine skins and feathers. Other forms of headdresses were of woven bark fiber with a single feather plume in front and feather bobs at the back. Hair ornaments were made of feathers, horsehair, and shells. Close-fitting caps completely covered with shell decorations were used by the Klamaths.

Among other weapons, these Indians used im-

mense dagger- or sword-like knives, often with most elaborate cross hilts resembling in miniature the ancient two-handed broadswords of the Middle Ages. These were carried in beautifully made buckskin or elkskin sheaths decorated with long, voluminous fringes, and highly ornamented with magnificent beadwork in bold geometrical designs.

For crossing streams and lakes, these Indians used reed balsas, the Klamath form being of unusual shape with a sharply upturned, square-ended prow.

Although they possessed many interesting aboriginal arts, and dressed in typical and picturesque costumes of skin, heavily fringed and wonderfully beaded, yet these Indians were very quick to adopt the white man's garments and ways, and even before the so-called Modoc War, they had lost most of their ancestral customs and dress.

Far removed from these tribes of the Northern Plateau, are the Indians of the Southern Plateau in Arizona, western Colorado, Utah, and Nevada. Although these tribes are racially close relatives of those in the north, belonging to the Shoshonean linguistic stock, yet they are very distinct from the Northern Plateau tribes. A number of separate tribes occupy this region, but as a rule they are much alike, and are usually considered under the general term of Utes and Piutes.

Originally these Indians lived in a most primitive and simple manner; but as has so often been the case, the coming of the horse, the consequent intercourse with other tribes, and the influence of the plains In-

dians, have greatly changed the life, customs, arts, and other characters of these Indians. The Utes and Piutes have not, however, been as greatly altered as many tribes, and their social organizations and religious rites have remained almost unchanged.

For subsistence these Indians depended mainly upon fish, roots, piñon nuts, and small game. There was no agriculture, and very little hunting of big game, although the more easterly Utes hunted the buffalo in the manner of the plains tribes, and in other localities, deer were killed by bows and arrows. In most districts, and especially in the Piute territory, there was little in the way of game, aside from rabbits and small creatures such as gophers, and for meat the Indians were obliged to rely upon snakes, insects and a few fish. Grass seeds, roots, berries, etc., formed the greater part of the Indians' diet, and so much of their time was devoted to grubbing for roots that the Piutes have become popularly known as "Digger Indians."

Long after other tribes had adopted metal tools, implements, and weapons, these Indians continued to use stone knives, arrowheads, etc., some of which are still in use. Probably this was due more to the poverty of these Indians than to lack of intelligence or desire, for many of the bands were ever on the verge of starvation and lived in the most abject poverty and squalor. Moreover, they made little or nothing which they could exchange with the other tribes or with the whites.

In hunting, the Utes used bows and arrows copied after those of the plains tribes. There were no

canoes, although the Utes used crude balsas or reed rafts for crossing streams. Snowshoes were used which were distinct from any others and were the crudest of all Indian snowshoes.

Burden baskets of conical form were made, as well as basketry fans and beaters used for gathering and winnowing grass seeds. Many of their finer baskets are excellently and artistically made and decorated, and graceful, bottle-shaped basketry water jars were made which were coated with pitch inside and out. Bowls of turtle shells were also used, and some of the tribes made rude pottery vessels, patterning them after the conical burden baskets.

Baby-carriers were also in use, the Piute form consisting of an oval wickerwork frame covered with deerskin which formed a pouch on one side. In this, a slit was made in which the child was inserted, after which the opening was closed with thong lacings, leaving an aperture at the top for the infant's head. Over this was a protective wicker-work hood or sunshade. The Ute cradle was similar, but instead of the wicker frame, a board was used.

The original form of house, or rather hut, used by all these Indians was a rude, roughly dome-shaped, almost roofless affair of brush—little more than a windbreak—and commonly known to the whites as a "wickyup." In cold weather the hut was commonly covered with skins. At the present time most of the Piutes, as well as the Utes, live in modern houses, although many still adhere to their wickyups. Long before the Indians learned to build real houses, the Utes had practically abandoned the

wickyup and had adopted the skin tepee of the plains Indians, as a winter dwelling.

In their religion, these Indians differed little from their neighbors. They believed in a supreme being who lived in the sun, or was represented by the sun, and in many minor deities. Medicine and sacred bundles were few, but personal charms and talismans were numerous. These consisted of small bags containing portions of birds and animals, curiously shaped pebbles, and other objects which symbolized the "dream helper" seen in visions.

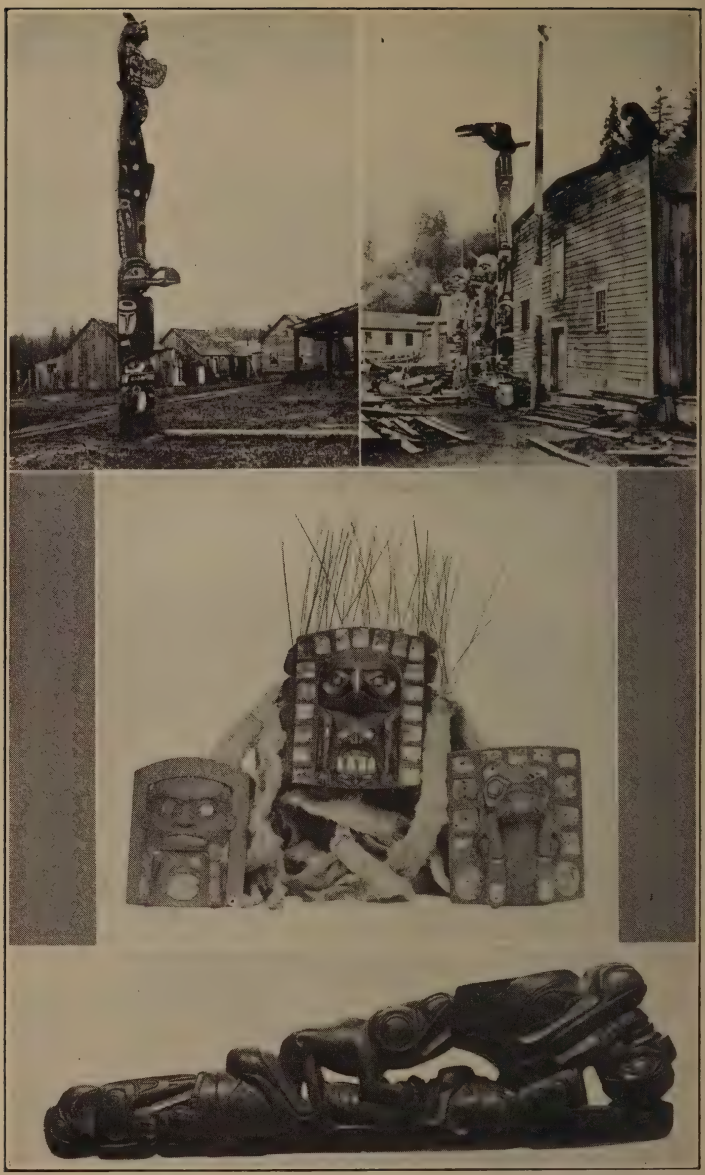
Among their games, these tribes had the stick dice, dice made of wood or walnut shells shaken in a basket; the hand game played with bone cylinders; a form of hoop-and-pole game; several forms of cup and pin; the double-ball game of the women; football; and shinny. In addition, they had a distinctive game played with four sticks, two large and two small, and a basket. One player arranged the sticks under the upturned basket, and the others bet upon the relative position of the sticks.

Although these Indians originally went naked or practically nude, yet they used neatly made, fringed leather garments at times, as shown in old prints and descriptions. These costumes consisted of shirts and leggings for the men, as well as moccasins and simple feather headdresses; and gowns and moccasins for the women. At first glance the later costumes of these tribes, but particularly of the Utes, appear to be copied bodily from the dress of the plains Indians. But closer inspection shows that while the general style is the same there are several



PLAINS INDIANS

Sioux Type, "Sitting Bull" Cheyenne Type, "Lame Man"



Totem Pole, Tlingit Indians, Alaska

Houses and Totem Poles, Tlingit Indians, Alaska

Headdresses, Haida Indians, Alaska

Pipe, Haida Indians, Alaska

differences. The fringes, especially on the men's leggings, are much longer, the fringes on all the garments are finer and more voluminous, and the beadwork ornamentation is different from that of any of the plains tribes.

Considering their primitive, not to say degenerate, state in many ways, it is rather surprising to find these Indians possessing artistic taste and great skill in decorative work. The beadwork of the Utes shows many angular designs somewhat similar to those of the plains Indians, but differing from these in the preponderance of large masses and units of solid colors or white. Floral and curved patterns also abound. The technique employed varies with the pattern being produced. On the straight work, the loop stitch is used, whereas in the curved or floral designs, flat, smooth beadwork is used. The latter stitch and the floral patterns are more abundant among the Piutes than the Utes, and the Piute woven beadwork bands, fillets, belts, etc., are excellently made.

Last of the plateau tribes are those occupying the interior plateaus of portions of Oregon, Idaho, and British Columbia. They are very different in cultures from any of the tribes hitherto described.

In some respects, especially in physical characteristics and mode of life, these Indians resemble the plains tribes more than the peoples of the other plateaus. They are a nomadic race and have, since the earliest introduction of horses, depended upon these animals, thus being strictly horse Indians.

Two linguistic stocks are represented among these

tribes, the Indians about Yakima, Washington, and Warm Springs, Oregon, being of Shahaptian stock while those of the Fraser River district speak a Salish dialect.

Unlike other horse Indians, who depend almost exclusively on hunting for a livelihood, or who cultivate small patches of land, these tribes of the Interior Plateau combine the hunting, horseback life with the primitive industry of digging edible roots and tubers.

Their principal art is making basketry, which is of a durable, coiled weave well adapted to the knocks and rough treatment on horseback. Many of their baskets are quite highly ornamented with imbricated designs. Rawhide boxes and leather cases are also used, and these, as well as their bow cases and quivers, are usually painted in the plains Indian manner.

Their costumes are so similar to those of the plains tribes that the differences can scarcely be described; but as a rule, the clothing of these Indians is more abundantly fringe trimmed and not so elaborately beaded and decorated as the garments of the plains Indians.

On the whole, however, these Indians have the appearance, the customs, and the characteristics of the neighboring plains tribes from whom, no doubt, they have copied everything which served their purpose and which proved to be adapted to their life and environment.

CHAPTER XIX

INDIANS OF THE PACIFIC COAST

ALL along the Pacific Coast of North America from Lower California to Alaska, and for some distance inland, especially along the rivers, were a great number of tribes representing many racial and linguistic stocks. In California, this was particularly the case, and in no other equal area of the surface of the globe were so many distinct dialects in use. In the southern portion of the state, the Spanish priests established numerous missions early in the eighteenth century; and, as a result, the tribes south of San Francisco long ago lost practically all of their aboriginal customs and mode of life and have been more or less civilized for two centuries. But many of the interior and northern tribes were unknown until the gold rush of 1849, and these still retain many of their ancestral ways and arts.

Owing to the diversity of tongues, the innumerable variations in habits and other matters, and the influences of other tribes and of the whites, it is often difficult to say exactly what were the original tribal characteristics and customs. Moreover, to attempt to describe or even to mention all of these tribes would be impossible in the present work. Hence they may best be considered as a whole, only

the most striking and typical examples of their customs, arts, and life being mentioned.

Due to the great variations in climate and environment, very great differences exist among these Indians. They may, therefore, be roughly divided into the north, central, and southern Californian groups. But even in one group or one tribe, wide variations often occur, owing to the geographical position of their territory. These variations are particularly noticeable in connection with the tribes dwelling in the rather arid and dry southern districts, and the forested northern areas which have a heavy rainfall, and in the tribes inhabiting the coast, and those inland.

But in two features at any rate, all were very much alike. None were nomadic, although moving about more or less within their own districts, and none were warlike or hostile. They seldom resented the encroachment of the whites, but made the best of it, and found employment as farm hands, laborers, servants, herders, fishermen, sailors, etc. The peaceful habits of these tribes, their dislike of any trouble, and the fact that they had learned to regard the white men as their friends, owing to the kindly treatment they had received at the hands of the padres and the easy-going Spanish landowners—all played an important part in the extermination of thousands of these peaceful, industrious, and harmless Indians.

Every one who has read *Ramona* is familiar with the conditions of the Indians in the old Spanish colonial days, and the treatment they received at the hands of our government, and from American set-

tlers in California. This story is scarcely if at all overdrawn. Indeed, the abuses related in *Ramona* are mild in comparison with many of those which prevailed during the early days of United States rule in California, and which continued until very recently.

Among the Indians of the southern area, the houses were simple affairs of grass, tules, brush, or bark, occasionally earth covered; while in the northern and central areas the Indians used houses of planks split from cedar logs by means of deer or elk-horn wedges. These buildings were either rectangular or circular, according to local or tribal custom, and usually had all or a part of the floor below the level of the ground. Openings or doorways were either in one side or in the roof. In the latter case, the occupants ascended or descended by means of a notched-log ladder which, when removed, made entrance difficult for undesirable visitors.

The household furnishings were simple, but ample for the needs and comfort of the Indians. A shallow hole sometimes surrounded with stones, in the center of the floor, served as a fireplace. About the walls was a raised platform of either earth or willow wands, which was covered with pine needles and soft tanned skins. It served as a lounging place during the day and as a bed at night. Oftentimes, a pole fastened a few inches above the platform served as a pillow for all the occupants of the house, while at other times, individual wooden pillows were made from sections of logs squared and slightly hollowed at one end. Mats of reeds and tules, robes woven

of strips of rabbit or wild-cat skin, and bird skins sewed together were used as blankets and cloaks.

Around the walls of the houses were hung baskets in which food, domestic utensils, clothing, decorations, ornaments, and other articles were stored, while other baskets and cases were kept in the spaces under the beds. The household utensils consisted largely of baskets; but in addition there were wooden spoons, ladles, bowls, etc., in great variety, as well as stone mortars and dishes, and in the case of the more southerly tribes, pottery vessels of good quality. In the northern districts, however, no pottery was made or used, the Indians weaving water-tight baskets which were used for holding liquids and for cooking, boiling being accomplished by dropping red-hot stones into the liquids.

Food was abundant and easily obtained, and varied greatly according to latitude and altitude. Roots, fruits, nuts, seeds, berries, and acorns comprised the vegetable foods, while fish and game were an important part of the menu.

Bows and arrows of several forms were used in hunting, and traps, nets, hooks, and spears were employed in taking fish. The bows were unusual, being extremely heavy, almost straight, and with a narrow hand hold, thus giving the weapon a double, spearhead shape something like the Klamath bows already described. These were often handsomely painted, as were the rather short, well-made arrows. In warfare, these northern tribes used cuirasses or armor, formed of tough sticks woven together with

bark or fiber, and these, no doubt, would prove fairly efficacious against arrows or other primitive weapons.

Few canoes were used, these tribes preferring reed rafts or balsas, although some of the northern tribes used well-made dugouts.

Smoking was common, the pipes used being tapered, cylindrical affairs, much like modern cigar holders, made of stone, bone, or wood, and often eight or ten inches in length.

Games consisted mainly of gambling devices, and for money these tribes used the dentalium or tusk shells, obsidian knives, woodpecker scalps, and magnesite beads. The dentalium shells were strung on cords or on skin thongs, and were carried in "banks" or purses formed from sections of horns, antlers, or bone beautifully carved and decorated, and with a slot in one side. The obsidian knives, often of immense size, were probably originally ceremonial, but latterly were merely currency, and were highly valued, while the largest magnesite beads had a trade value of as much as twenty dollars.

Probably, in the early days before the advent of Europeans, most of these Indians went naked or nearly so, but later they adopted skin and fiber garments. For generations, they have worn conventional clothing except for ceremonial purposes. In the south, aprons or skirts of shredded bark or nettle fiber were in vogue. These are quite decorative and are usually tastefully ornamented with feathers, but they are not as well made nor as attractive as those of the more northern tribes. The Tolowas and

Karoks, for example, use aprons which are highly ornamental, being made of beads or seeds on strings woven in attractive designs of soft shades of brown, and decorated with metal jinglers, bright feathers, and pieces of abalone shell.

The northern tribes also used shirts and tunics, as well as skirts, of soft buckskin, colored in dull grays, greens, or browns. These were heavily fringed and ornately decorated with bits of haliotis shell, seeds, beads, feathers, silver coins, and disks; brass bells, jinglers, and sea shells; some of the garments of the Tolowas being completely hidden under their masses of small clam shells, dentaliums, cypræas, etc.

Sandals of agave and other fibers were worn by the southern tribes, the fiber being braided or twisted into rope which was coiled into the desired shape and sewed together. The northern and central tribes, however, wore moccasins of soft leather. These were of several styles, usually with the instep seam, and of one piece. The Yuroks used a peculiar moccasin with separate soft leather soles, and the uppers puckered to a seam on the instep.

All the tribes made and used basket-work hats of bowl shape, those of the northern tribes being more ornate, and often decorated with feathers or pompons. For ceremonial purposes, these Indians used elaborate and frequently very beautiful headdresses of skin, feathers, shells, and quills. Some of these, made on a foundation of deerskin, were completely covered with an overlay of woodpecker scalps so arranged as to form alternating bands of diamond pat-

tern in scarlet, black, and white. Others used headdresses of painted skin with no feathers; others combined embroidered skin caps with feather bobs and plumes; another form was of skin with a pendant skin back, painted and decorated with rows of feathers, and with feathers about the headband. Still other Indians used skin caps embroidered with shells and seeds.

A type of headdress used by the Pomos was composed entirely of the quills and tail feathers of the flicker, the quills being dyed and woven into a band which was decorated with the arrowhead-shaped tips of the woodpeckers' tail feathers.

Hair plumes were also worn. These were of many and often elaborate forms. Sometimes a long, black tail feather of the California condor would be used, with its midrib covered with patches of bright feathers laid on in contrasting colors, and with swan's-down and other feathers at the base. Other forms consisted of long, curved, slender plumes wrapped with feathers of various colors and finished off with down at the base. Still another type was the pompon made up of numbers of soft, curving feathers, or of sticks covered with spirally wound feathers, and topped with waving plumes.

Elaborate feather capes, collars, and necklaces were also worn, and very attractive and artistic ornaments were made of dyed porcupine quills. As jewelry, these Indians used ear pendants, necklaces, collars, and other ornaments of seeds, beads, quillwork, feathers, and shells. One form of necklace used by the Yuroks consisted of pieces of the curved,

thick rim of the abalone shell cut and strung to imitate the claws of the grizzly bear.

That their dances, ceremonies and religious rites were numerous and involved, is known; but we have comparatively little information regarding their exact religious beliefs, especially those of the southern Californian tribes who have been Christianized, or at least influenced by Christianity, for centuries.

Particularly noteworthy is the cremation or burial ceremony of the Diegueños. At these ceremonies, death dolls have an important part. These are figures, often of nearly life size, dressed in Indian costume, with elaborate shoulder ornaments of feathers, equipped with bows and arrows or other weapons or implements, and with the most ghastly, deathlike faces imaginable.

The Diegueños also are interesting for their feather dance, in which elaborate costumes are worn; for their peculiar games, such as the stick-and-ring game; for their bull roarers; and for their use of the globe-headed war club of eastern Indian type.

In their beadwork, many of these Californian Indians showed remarkable skill and artistic ability, much of their bead embroidery comparing favorably with that of any tribe. Their carved spoons of horn and wood are also marvels of intricate and delicate carved work, while their basketry is famed. Many utensils, ordinarily made of wood, wicker, or other materials, are made of basketry by these Indians. Their baby-carriers are neat, comfortable affairs re-

sembling a true bassinet, and have a movable basketry sunshade.

The northern Californian Indians, in particular, were famous for their remarkably fine baskets, often of immense size, and so finely woven that they are water-tight and appear made of textiles. These are usually beautifully ornamented with an endless variety of angular and geometrical patterns in black, brown, and soft shades of red and ocher, while many have beads or feathers, or both, introduced in the weave. Oftentimes these completely cover the basket, giving the utensils the appearance of being entirely composed of beadwork, of the scarlet woodpecker feathers, or the iridescent feathers of humming birds. The skill, patience, and eyesight required to produce such baskets, and to weave in the thousands of minute bits of feathers, are nothing short of astounding.

Northward from California to Puget Sound and beyond, were formerly many Indians representing nearly fifty tribes. Owing to long wars with the whites, the Northwest Fur Company's operations, the lumbering and salmon industries, and other causes, the Oregon Indians have been greatly reduced in numbers, and the surviving remnants of the tribes have lost practically all of their ancestral customs, arts, and habits, so that little is really known regarding their aboriginal life. But north of the Columbia River are several tribes which have still adhered to their native ways. Among these are the Quinauilt, the Quileute, and the Makah—tribes which are often confused with the Northwest coast

Indians owing to many similarities in customs and other characters.

About Puget Sound are several tribes whose names end in *ish,* and who are usually referred to by the whites as Siwash. In the Indians' dialects, the terminal *ish* means people, and hence we find tribes with such names as Skokomish, Snohomish, Stillaquamish, Samish, Salish, Swinomish, Suquamish, and Dwamish.

Unlike most Indians, these northwestern coast tribes depend upon the sea for a living, and their chief industry is hunting whales. Armed with harpoons and lances of bone of primitive design, such Indians as the Makah and Quileutes go to sea in open canoes and boldly attack the largest of the world's mammals. Very often, these venturesome whalemen go out of sight of land, guiding their craft solely by atmospheric conditions and the direction of the waves, and, having captured and killed the whales, tow the huge carcasses ashore.

The canoes used by these people are the best-made and designed of any dugouts known, and are often of large size. Although rather grotesquely decorated and carved above the water line, yet their underbodies are designed with a most intimate knowledge of the requirements of speed, buoyancy, and seaworthiness. The lines of these craft combine the good features of the Gloucester fishermen's dories and the New England whalemen's famous whaleboats, and are fully the equals of either.

Aside from whales, these tribes capture innumerable fish by means of hook and line, spears, traps,

weirs, seines, nets, etc., the lines and cordage used being formed from twisted cedar bark, or at times, even strips of kelp.

Hunting was done with bows and arrows, the latter being beautifully made with highly finished bone points. The bows of these Indians, especially of the Quinauilt and Quileute tribes, are remarkably powerful and heavy, being of the narrow-center, broad-ended type so prevalent in the Northwest, but having sharply recurved ends, and unusual length.

For vegetable food, these tribes depended upon fruits, berries, roots, and seeds, the berries being dried for winter consumption or pressed into cakes. For cooking, and as utensils for eating, these tribes used baskets, wooden and horn spoons, often beautifully carved, wooden bowls, etc.

Their houses were of three types. One had a gable roof sloping both ways; another had a shedlike roof with a single slope; while the third form had a nearly flat roof in the center with steeply sloping ends and sides. All these houses were constructed of cedar planks, split from logs with antler wedges, and supported by massive timbers hewn by hand. Often, these houses were communal and of huge size. One that until recently stood near Seattle was over five hundred feet in length, and even larger dwellings have been known.

Although the majority of these Indians now dress in conventional clothing, or in costumes made of trade cloth, a few still adhere to their ancestral costumes, and these are invariably donned for ceremonials. The shirts or tunics, as well as the aprons

or breechcloths, are made of leather, heavily fringed, of woven wool, nettle fiber, or bark, and are usually elaborately decorated with beads, shells, metal trinkets, seeds, and feathers. The moccasins are of the soft, one-piece type; but those of the Shahaptian of Oregon are peculiar in having the single seam along one side of the foot instead of on the instep. These are usually beautifully decorated with beadwork in floral designs of a truly futuristic style. For headdresses, these Indians used several forms of skin and feather construction. The Shahaptian headdress was formed of a horn ring covered with hide, and decorated with numerous tufts of hair, and at various points, bundles or bobs of feathers were attached. Several tribes, such as the Quileute, wore shoulder rings of feathers and bark strips. In some ceremonials immense wooden masks were used, such as the massive wolf masks of the Makahs.

In the religious Spirit Canoe ceremony of the Salish and Snoqualmu, the shamans used strangely carved staffs representing grotesque human figures, and oddly shaped, highly painted boards or Spirit Canoes. On these, the medicine men were supposed to visit the deities, who would then reveal much knowledge and render tremendous spiritual aid to the Indians.[1]

Smoking was an important part of some ceremonies, and many of these Indians' pipes are most

[1] In the spirit-canoe ceremony, the shamans are supposed to visit the underworld in order to regain the spirits or souls of their patients. The spirit-canoes are roughly shaped to symbolize the sea-lion, a creature believed to be in communication with the spirit world.

elaborately made and carved and are frequently beautifully inlaid with abalone shell.

Although greatly influenced in many ways by the whites, yet these tribes are most conservative in other ways, especially in regard to their tools. Although they gladly use steel blades, yet they invariably mount these in wooden or bone handles made according to their own ideas. Some of these, such as the adzes and axes of the Salish, are roughly made and rather crude, while other tribes, such as the Quileutes, mount the steel implements in beautifully carved handles of bone, and show great ingenuity in their design. Bone awls and needles are still extensively used, and elk- and deer-antler wedges are still employed for splitting logs into planks.

Unlike the majority of western coast tribes, these Indians use wooden baby-carriers of unique form, those of the Shahaptians being spear-head-shaped affairs provided with perforations around the edges. To this the infant, bundled in moss and fur robes, is lashed by a thong lacing.

Basketry is the principal art of these tribes, although they are excellent at beadwork. In the past at least, many wove very admirable textiles from nettle fiber, shredded bark, mountain-goat and sheep wool, and dogs' hair. The last are particularly interesting, as the Salish tribes bred and raised a special variety of dog solely for its hair to be used in weaving their blankets.

Still farther north, and occupying the territory along the upper portions of the Stikine, Tuya, and

Tahltan rivers in British Columbia, about 150 miles east of Sitka, are the Tahltan Indians. These form a separate group, being of Athabascan stock, and differing markedly from the other Indians of the Northwest.

Being mainly hunters and fishermen, these Indians are seminomadic, and are on friendly terms with the Tlingits of the coast, with whom they carry on a rather extensive trade. As this has been going on from time immemorial, many of the Tahltan arts, customs, and other characters show a decided coast-tribe influence, while many of the features of the coastal Indians have been greatly influenced by the interior Tahltans.

As a result, the two tribes have become more or less alike in a number of ways, especially in the types of their pipes, their huge war knives or daggers, their gambling devices, their carvings, and their abalone inlay-work. In fact, many of these, especially the double-edged knives with carved bone handles inlaid with shell, and the elaborately carved pipes with shell inlay, are probably of true Tlingit origin. Even in many of their rites and religious ceremonies, these Indians show the influence of their coastal neighbors, although they still retain a number of typically Athabascan ceremonies and dances, such as the puberty ceremony.

The Tahltans show the Athabascan type of art in their dress and beadwork. The latter, which is extensively used for decorating the soft-tanned-skin knife sheaths, pouches, bags, and other articles, is usually in a pleasing combination of geometrical

and floral designs very carefully and accurately worked. Similar designs are used in decorating bonework, such as knife handles, skin-dressing tools, spreaders for burden straps, gaming sticks, etc. These are incised or scratched on the bones and are then filled with pigment like the old-time scrimshaw work of the New England whalemen.

As household utensils, the Tahltans have very little, as is usually the case with nomadic people. Kettles and containers of birch bark; bags of tanned skin, or of netting; stone and bone tools and implements; and spoons of mountain-sheep horn, bone, and wood comprised most of the articles of tribal make. But by far the greater portion of their tools and utensils are obtained by trade from the Tlingits.

The typical Tahltan dwelling originally consisted of a crude lean-to of poles and spruce bark, two leantos as a rule being erected face to face with a narrow opening between the two. During the summer, this space was left open; but in winter one end was walled up and a fire was kept burning between the two huts.

The aboriginal costume was of tanned skins, fringed and beaded, and patterned very much after the style of the western Crees. Caribou, moose, bear, and sheep skins served as bedding and robes; and winter garments were made of rabbit, fox, squirrel, marmot, lynx, etc.

Snares, deadfalls, and several other ingenious traps were used to secure game, and especially fur-bearing animals; but the bow and arrow was also

widely used. Hunting was, and still is, carried on mainly during the winter. In spring these Indians devote themselves to catching salmon, which are dried for future use, and in summer little work is done, save that essential to existence.

CHAPTER XX

INDIANS OF THE FAR NORTHWEST

DIFFERING in nearly every way from all other Indians of North America are the tribes inhabiting the coasts and islands of southern Alaska and northern British Columbia. Here, isolated from contact with nearly all other tribes, and forced by their environment to adapt themselves to conditions unknown to the Indians of the interior or of the Californian coast, these tribes have developed customs, arts, industries, religions, and modes of life quite distinct from those of even their nearest neighbors.

Of all North American tribes, they are probably the most Asiatic in appearance, and as far as physical characteristics go, they can scarcely be distinguished from the inhabitants of northeastern Asia. If we accept the theory of an early migration of man from Asia across to Alaska, then, most assuredly, these far northwestern tribes have retained the characters of their ancestors more obviously than any other American aborigines.

Particularly noteworthy, and at once serving to distinguish these Indians from all others, are their large, elaborate dwellings built of planks and with grotesquely carved and painted fronts; their remarkable, immense, carved totem poles, sometimes

sixty feet in height; their complex and involved ceremonials in which weird, gigantic masks are worn, the dancers impersonating heraldic animals, monsters, and mythical beings; the extensive use of cedar bark for clothing; the innumerable articles of woodwork; and the type of decorations in which the totem or heraldic creatures and personages are portrayed. Moreover, they are linguistically distinct from other North American tribes, although among them many related tribes, as well as several apparent racial stocks, occur.

Prominent among these Indians are the Tlingit, who inhabit southern Alaska between Controller Bay and Portland Canal; the Haida, of Queen Charlotte Islands and Prince of Wales Island; the Tsimshian, living on the Nass and Skeena rivers and neighboring islands; the Kitksan, of the upper waters of the Skeena River; the Niska, of Nass River and Observatory Bay; the Kwakiutl, whose territory lies between Rivers Inlet and Cape Mudge, and who also live on the northeastern end of Vancouver Island; and the Nootka of western Vancouver.

Living as they do by the ocean, and depending almost entirely upon sea food, all of these tribes have become experts in canoe-building and in navigating their craft. With abundant material in the forests, these Indians have learned to work the native cedar and other woods in a manner unequaled by any other Indians, and their remarkably buoyant, swift, and seaworthy dugouts are marvels of aboriginal boat-building. Some of these craft are of immense size, sixty to seventy feet in length, and are

carved and hollowed from a single log with the exception of long, necklike bow and stern pieces of ornamental design which are made separately.

These canoes serve for traveling from place to place, as war canoes, and for capturing the various denizens of the sea upon which these Indians rely for food, weapons, utensils, and many other purposes. Fish, sea lions, sea otters, and seals are all taken by these tribes, while those of Vancouver Island make a specialty of whaling. For the larger creatures, harpoons are used, while fish and smaller sea animals are taken by nets, weirs, traps, hooks and lines, and spears.

Some hunting on land is also done, the Indians formerly using bows and arrows, although to-day firearms are in universal use. Considerable vegetable food is used, such as roots, tubers, seeds, nuts, and berries, the last being dried and pressed into cakes for winter consumption.

In their social organization, these tribes were unique. There was a well established caste system, consisting of chiefs, commoners, and slaves. The latter were prisoners, captured in battles or in raids on other tribes, and as a rule they were treated with kindness and consideration, and aside from certain restrictions were, to all intents and purposes, members of the tribe. Although they could marry, and were more or less free in many ways, and were employed at various tasks, such as canoe-building, fishing, hunting, and warfare, yet they were rigidly excluded from all ceremonies, religious rites, coun-

cils, etc. To the commoner caste belonged all legitimate members of the tribe, except those of royal blood and medicine men, who were all in the chief caste.

Much of the time of these Indians was devoted to making woodwork and cedar bark cloth. Having no knowledge of pottery-making, these tribes used vessels and utensils of wood, in which food was boiled by the hot-stone method. Very often these wooden kettles were of large size, and not infrequently a canoe was pressed into service and was used as a cauldron for trying-out oil from fish refuse which, during the fish-drying season, accumulated in vast quantities.

Not only were wooden utensils formed by hollowing out sections of logs, but many were of two or more pieces cunningly fitted together to form rectangular or square vessels. In making these, a thin slab of wood was bent in rectangular form by means of steaming, V-shaped cuts having been made where the corner angles were to come. The ends were almost invisibly joined by sewing with roots of spruce. To this frame was fitted a wooden bottom cut to size and joined to the bent side piece with a step joint, and sewed on with spruce-root strips.

Special utensils were made for ceremonial purposes, and canoe-shaped, dugout troughs or trenchers were used for feasts and dance purposes. Nearly all of these utensils, as well as the smaller wooden bowls, dishes, spoons, etc., and the spoons of mountain-sheep and goat horn were elaborately carved in more or less conventionalized bird and

animal or human forms, often decorated with paint and haliotis-shell inlays.

Cedar bark is also a most important article to these tribes. From this, these Indians make both cloth and baskets, many of the latter being of finely twined weave and artistically decorated in conventionalized animal designs of harmonious blended colors. For making cloth, the bark is beaten and shredded into fine, soft fibers which are twisted into threads and woven into durable cloth without the aid of loom, batten, or shuttle. Another form of textile, which is most remarkable, is the Chilkat blanket with a cedar-bark warp wrapped with mountain-goat hair, the weft strands being of wool alone. In weaving these remarkable fabrics, the warp strands are suspended over a stick supported by two forked posts, and the weft strands are pushed into place by the weaver's fingers, the upper or top strands being woven in place first and the weaving proceeding downward. This is the reverse of other aboriginal methods of weaving.

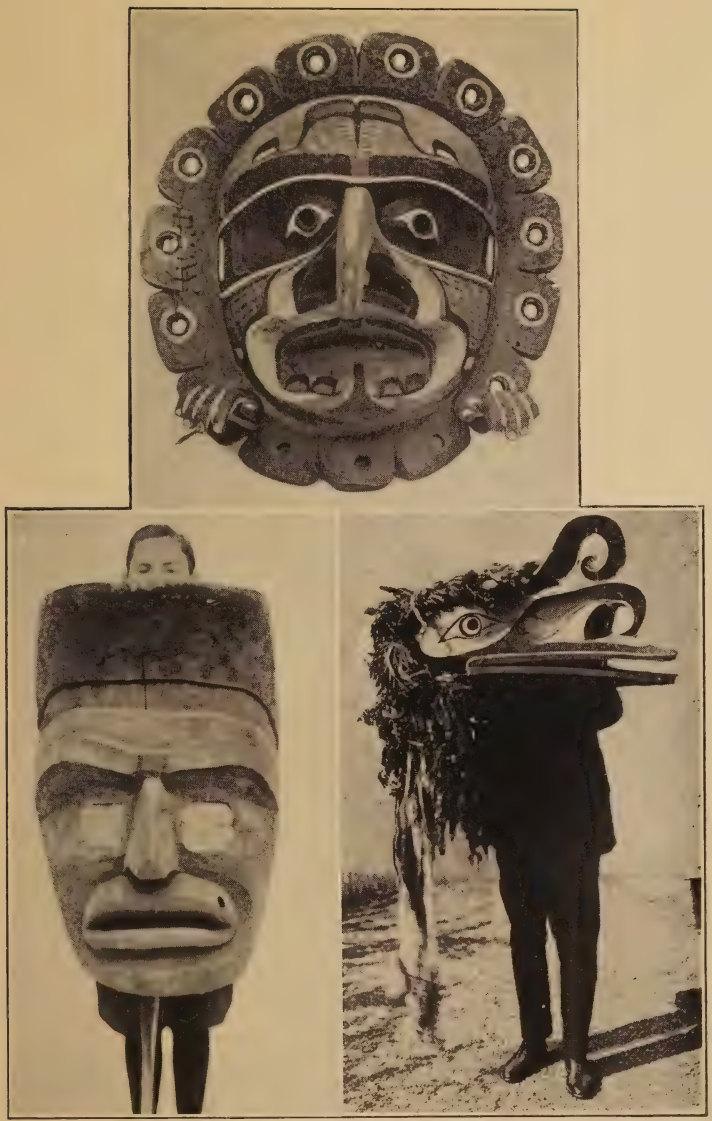
These blankets are not only exceedingly fine, being excelled only by the work of the Peruvian Indians, but in addition they are ornately woven in intricate designs representing totem animals, mythical personages, monsters, and similar forms, often conventionalized, usually dissected and with their various fragments separated, and always most ingeniously handled in such a way as to adapt them to the weave.

Mats of cedar-bark ribbons were extensively used, and this useful material also provided excellent cordage, mattresses, and bedding, padding for the

babies' cradles, and fringes and other decorations for costumes and ceremonial objects.

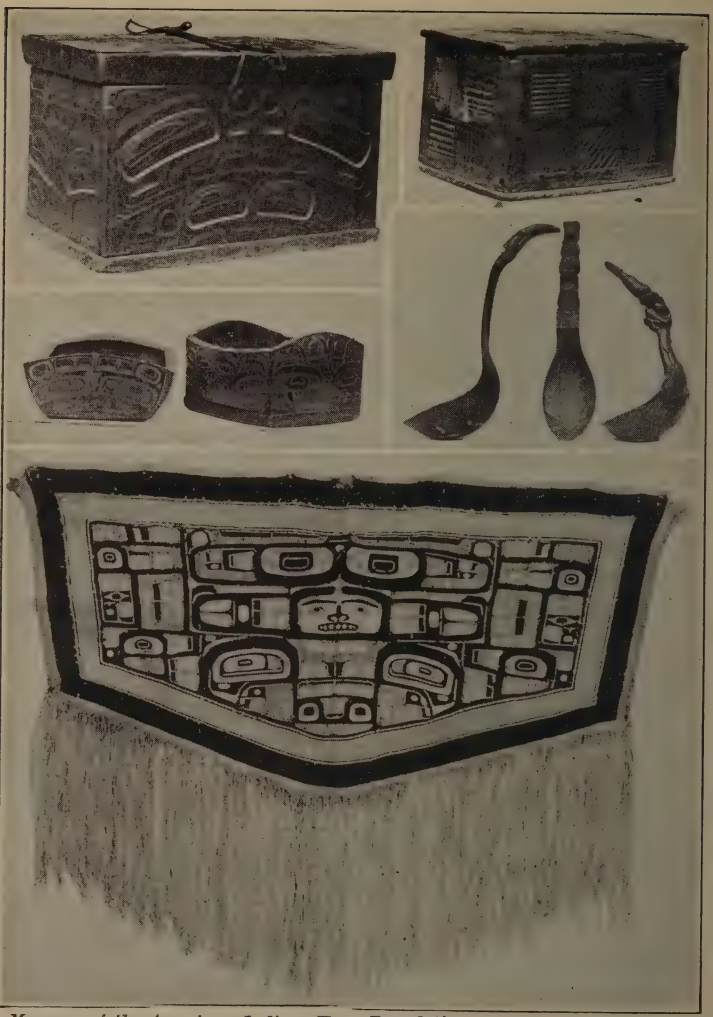
In the erection of their houses, these Indians also exhibit great mechanical and architectural skill. These are often over fifty feet in length and have high walls and a flat gable roof. The roof and sides are of large cedar planks hewn to uniform thickness by primitive adzes, and are fastened to a substantial frame of timbers. The roof support is composed of two logs, often two feet or more in diameter, and placed about ten feet apart, lengthwise of the rectangular house. Each of these is supported by vertical posts of large size, notched at the upper ends to receive the roof timbers, and usually carved to represent some guardian spirit or totem creature. Smaller timbers are laid from the central roof timbers to the sides of the house, and all are securely fastened in place.

The manner in which these Indians erect the massive timbers, and the still more massive and elaborately carved totem poles which stand in front of the houses, has often puzzled many persons. At the Chicago World's Fair in 1892, several totem poles and a house of these Indians were erected on the exposition grounds. To raise the immense carved posts in the limited area provided, proved a puzzle to the white artisans; but it was quickly and easily accomplished by the Indians, who built a rough and ready cribwork of timbers and literally raised the wooden columns by foot. Using their own weight upon one end of a timber to raise the other end like a lever, they worked so rapidly and in such perfect



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

MASK, KWAKIUTL INDIANS, VANCOUVER
GIANT MASKS, KWAKIUTL



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

WOODEN BOX, HAIDA — WOODEN BOX, TLINGIT

WOODEN TRAYS, HAIDA — HORN SPOONS, HAIDA

BLANKET OF GOAT HAIR AND CEDAR BARK, CHILKAT

unison that the totem poles were in place much more quickly than could have been done by means of derricks, shears, or other mechanical devices.

When the houses are completed, the fronts are usually decorated with mythological paintings in bold designs, and very often the interior rear wall is similarly embellished. Around the walls, inside the house, a raised platform is built to serve as sleeping quarters for the several families who occupy the dwelling. There are separate fireplaces for each family. In many places the benchlike bunks are partitioned off by means of cedar-bark matting, thus converting the building into a primitive apartment house.

Outside the door, and usually close to the house, were placed the totem poles. Occasionally these were erected against the front of the dwelling with an opening through the base of the pole serving as a doorway to the house. These monolithic wooden columns, with their wonderfully carved, grotesque figures, correspond to coats of arms. The various creatures and beings represented in the carving are the clan or family totems, or crests of the ancestors of the family occupying the house to which the poles belong. In addition to the totem figures, these carvings frequently embody members of the family who were prominent in the family traditions, so that the totem pole is literally a family tree.

Although many articles of wearing apparel were made of bark or of bark cloth, woven wool, or woven dog hair, yet deerskins were also extensively used. The principal article of apparel worn by the men

was a shirt or a kilt of skin, and in some cases leggings; and the women's essential garment was a skirt. Over these were worn robes or blankets of dressed furs, woven wool, etc. Elaborate headdresses of shells were also worn. Nowadays, many of these Indians wear conventional dress, while others make their own garments of trade cloth, decorating them in tribal style. Especially interesting are the decorative designs carried out on trade blankets and cloth by means of pearl buttons and ribbon or cloth *appliqué*, many of these being so elaborate that they would make a London coster turn green with envy.

For personal adornment these Indians used ear and nose ornaments of bone, ivory, metal, and haliotis shell. Among the women of the more northerly tribes, lip ornaments or labrets were fashionable. These were of small size when first inserted in the aperture in the lower lip, but were gradually increased in size from time to time, until ultimately, the lip became merely a thin strip of tissue surrounding the enormous ornament, very much after the fashion of many African tribes, as well as the Botacudo Indians of Brazil (Chapter XXII). Although to us these immense labrets are horrible and disfiguring, yet to the minds of the people who use them they are beautifying. Among the women of the Haidas, Tlingits, Tsimshians, and others of the northwest coast, the labret was a mark of distinction and a woman's social position was more or less established by the size of her lip ornament.

Most of the games of these Indians were gambling

devices, the commonest forms consisting of cylindrical sticks, often as many as seventy in a set, made of ivory and often handsomely carved and inlaid with haliotis shell. These were used much as we use dice or cards, and sometimes a man would lose everything he possessed in playing such games.

For smoking, these tribes used pipes of innumerable and remarkable forms. Wood was the material most used for pipes, yet stone, bone, and ivory were also employed. The Haidas made pipes of slate which were marvelously carved. In the case of wooden pipes, the bowls were usually lined with metal, such as bits of tin cans, brass ferrules, or empty cartridge shells.

In almost every case, regardless of the material of which they were made, the pipes were elaborately carved in the forms of mythical beings, prominent personages in the maker's family, heraldic or totem emblems, or combinations of all. Very often, too, the pipes were further ornamented with haliotis-shell inlays. Among all these tribes the haliotis or abalone shell was highly prized and was obtained by trade with the Californian Indians.

Originally, the far northwestern Indians were very warlike, and made raids on one another and on neighboring tribes, often traveling long distances in their huge canoes, and in their forays resembled the Vikings of old. For protection they wore armor made of hardened and shrunken hides or of tough wooden strips bound together with cord, and helmets and neckpieces of wood, elaborately carved to represent family crests or totems. As weapons, they used

bows and arrows, war clubs, and immense double-edged knives, as well as swords of bone.

The clubs were of various forms and were of wood, bone, or antler, while the war knives or daggers were most remarkable. Originally, these were made of native copper, hammered and ground into shape; but with the arrival of white men this metal was discarded in favor of steel. Securing old files by trade with the whites, these Indians softened, cut, ground, and worked the steel into the most beautifully made and highly finished double-edged knives. Often, these are deeply fluted along the blade; not infrequently they are inlaid with silver or copper, and occasionally one is seen with the steel blade welded to a copper section near the handle. The skill, patience, and ingenuity exhibited by these Indians in transforming old files into highly finished, ornately decorated, and perfectly tempered knives are among the most amazing features of the northwest aborigines.

The bone swords of these Indians are unique, and although they might perhaps be classed as a form of club, yet they are distinctively cutting weapons and when wielded by a muscular man would cleave an enemy's skull or sever his neck at a single stroke. Among the Kwakiutl, these swords take the form of a gigantic bowie knife, and are about thirty inches in length and about three-eighths of an inch thick at the back, the cutting edge being ground to a keenness that is almost equal to that of a metal weapon. As the Kwakiutls were head-hunters, such swords must have been very handy for decapitating their en-

emies. Each sword is made from a single piece of whale's bone, and is provided with a good hand grip and a perforation for attaching a cord with which to suspend the weapon from the warrior's neck or to attach it to the owner's wrist.

One such sword, which was obtained from the Vancouver Kwakiutl and is now in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York, has a history and a legend which are particularly interesting as illustrating the folklore of these Indians. Moreover, the legendary story of how the sword originated is most amazingly like the legend of the bolas, as told by the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of Chile (Chapter XXIII).

According to the Kwakiutl tale, the original owner of the sword was Quekagila, who was the first of the Nahwittie tribe and lived at the base of a hill on Hope Island. He was all alone, and some of the other tribes tried to kill him, so he sought refuge on top of the hill with his wife and three daughters. There he made a house of hemlock boughs. One morning he arose early, and while going down to his canoe he met the double-headed sea monster or *Sisiutl* in his pathway. He tried to pass; but Sisiutl would not move out of the way. Then he tried to go around, but found a deep pool barred the way. He was now tired of walking, so he sat down beside the pool and noticed that the water moved.

Presently, he saw a totem pole come out of the water, and he heard a voice saying that he would be a great chief if he took the totem pole. But he would not take it, so the totem pole went down into the

water and a canoe with two men in it came up, and the voice said he would be a great hunter if he took the canoe and the men's spears. But he would not take these, so the canoe went back into the water. Then a little man came up, carrying a stone chisel and a stone hammer, and the voice told the Indian that he would be a great canoe-maker if he took the hammer and chisel. But he would not take these, and the man went back into the water with his tools.

Then, at last, the bone sword came out of the pool, and the voice said that if he took the sword he would be a mighty warrior and would kill all his enemies. So he took the sword, and went with it in his canoe, and killed all his enemies, and then he went down from the hill and dwelt in safety with his children and grandchildren, who were the ancestors of the Kwakiutls.

Among these tribes, ceremonies, both of a religious and nonreligious nature, were exceedingly numerous, complicated, and spectacular. Rituals were carried out for almost any reason or for little reason at all. There were ceremonials for worship; ceremonies to invoke the aid of supernatural beings; rites which dramatized some ancient legend, and in which the participants impersonated various mythological characters, monsters, and animals; and ceremonies for the sole purpose of displaying personal wealth. In addition, there was the Potlach, a ceremonial feast during which immense quantities of personal property were given away, the giver often impoverishing himself and thereby gaining great merit and the deepest respect of his fellow tribesmen.

On such occasions, too, the younger members of the tribes were initiated in the various secret societies; their noses, ears, and lips were pierced; and among such tribes as the Haidas, the children were tattooed. Invariably, all ceremonies were accompanied by dancing, singing, beating of drums, the shaking of rattles, blowing of flutes and fifes, and other typically Indian accompaniments.

Many of the dancers were grotesquely painted from head to foot, and usually masks were worn. These masks are among the most typical and remarkable objects used by these northwestern tribes. They are made of wood, copper, or other material, and are elaborately and artistically carved and painted, the painted designs being outlined or stenciled on by means of leather or bark patterns.

Although it is often thought that the designs of these masks are purely fanciful, this is not the case. Every carving and painting on these, and on the ceremonial rattles and other objects, has its meaning, which may be symbolic or may be the representation of some easily recognized object. Usually the carvings and paintings represent the mythological characters appearing in the ceremony, but clan totems are also used, and not infrequently the designs are carved cartoons designed to depict persons held in derision. Occasionally, too, portraits appear on the masks, and very often these are so well executed that they are easily recognizable, the Indians having a wonderful gift of catching the most prominent salient features or peculiarities of a subject,

and exaggerating them, much as do our best cartoonists.

Very often the masks are ingeniously fitted with movable eyes, lips, or tongues, which are mechanically operated by means of strings pulled by the wearers. Others are far too large to be worn by a single dancer and are borne by several Indians in unison. Such are the immense masks which represent sea monsters and have movable tails, fins, and jaws, and which are made in several sections, each carried by an Indian, and cleverly joined together much after the fashion of the giant dragons used in Chinese processions.

Among these tribes, too, medicines, charms, talismans, etc., were used, the Indians having great faith in the healing potency of anything unusual, such as oddly colored or shaped pebbles, malformed branches or roots, certain bird skins, animal skins, and carved charms of wood or stone. The sacred or medicine bundles of our plains Indians were unknown to these northwestern tribes.

CHAPTER XXI

INDIANS SOUTH OF US

THOUGH few persons realize the fact, there are many times more Indians in Central and South America than in North America. It is impossible to state accurately just what the Indian population of South and Central America totals; but it has been estimated at several millions, and the present head of the Indian confederation (see Chapter IV) claims twenty million followers.

Many tribes comprise from thirty to fifty thousand members, and the population of Bolivia is nearly 90 per cent Indian. These figures do not include the Mestizos or mixed bloods which, if in the United States, would be classed as Indians.

In South and Central America a much larger proportion of the Indians are civilized than in North America, and in many of the countries south of us the laboring classes, as well as many of the most wealthy and prominent men, are largely Indians. Nevertheless there are countless thousands of South and Central American Indians who live as primitively, are as aloof and wild, and are as untouched by civilization as in the days of Columbus. Many thousands have never been visited by white men, and there are unquestionably many thousands whose existence is entirely unsuspected.

While many of the Central and South American tribes have the reputation of being hostile, yet, in most cases they will not attack or molest a white man unless he is the aggressor, and their so-called hostility usually consists of endeavoring to keep outsiders from entering their territory. They have learned from the experience of other tribes that the advent of the white man means the loss of their lands, the destruction of their race; and they are striving to protect their homes and their families.

As a whole the Indians of Central and South America differ greatly from those of North America in physical characters, life, customs, arts, and other ways. But very often they are strikingly similar in their beliefs, handiwork, psychology, industries, and other matters. Even among tribes which apparently have nothing in common with any North American tribe, one frequently and most unexpectedly discovers some custom, art, decorative motif, or other characteristic which has its counterpart among the North American tribes.

Thus, among an almost unknown tribe in Guiana, I found the Indians using a peculiar type of gage for measuring the thickness of wood in making dugout canoes. I had never seen anything like it used by neighboring tribes or by other South American Indians I have visited, but an almost exact counterpart of the gage, identical in shape, design, and other details, was, I found, in use by Indians in Alaska, although nothing of the sort was known to the Indians living between the two widely separated countries.

Such remarkable similarities do not, however, necessarily mean that there is any connection or racial relationship between the tribes. Often it is mere coincidence, the result of primitive man's working along similar lines to achieve a certain result, while in other cases it may be the result of trade or intercourse in ages long past.

Physically, the South and Central American tribes differ strikingly from those of North America. In the tropical sections, the Indians are usually dark skinned, averaging a clear ocher or orange-brown. They are short, little more than five feet in height; stocky, with enormously broad shoulders and deep chests, and with large heads and small legs and feet. Aquiline noses are the exception rather than the rule, and many tribes have noses so broad and flat that they appear almost negroid. The mountain tribes and those of the south temperate zone are larger, lighter, and better proportioned; while in the extreme south of South America we find tribes strikingly like our plains Indians. All this goes far to prove that environment has a marvelous effect on the physical characteristics of a race.

Southward, beyond the borders of the United States, we find the Indians of northern Mexico very similar in many of their habits, customs, and arts, to the Indians of our southwestern deserts; for naturally, a mere geographical or international boundary line will not mean a complete change of tribal ways or tribal limits. Hence the Yaquis, who belong to our North American Yuman-Piman group, and are in many ways similar to our Apaches and

Yumas, have been described in the chapter on the Indians of our deserts.

In northern Mexico are many other tribes closely related to those of our Southwest. Among these are the Quiriegos, Bavispes, Cucurpes, Tuapes, Nuris, Movas, Onavenos, and others, some of whom are racially related to the Yaquis, others to the Seris, and still others are of distinct linguistic stock. Many of these are civilized, or have been so long in contact with the Spanish that they have lost their ancestral ways, while a few still retain their aboriginal customs, which are so similar to those of the neighboring tribes that a separate description is not warranted.

Farther south, in central and southern Mexico, are totally different tribes of racial stocks not represented in the northern portion of the country or in North America. Some of these are of Aztec or Toltec descent, others speak the ancient Nahuatlan dialect, and some appear to be the sole representatives of distinct races.

Such are the Huicholes of central Mexico, a tribe whose customs, arts, religious beliefs, and strangely complicated and elaborate system of gods, fetishes, sacred rites, and ceremonies are wholly different from any other known tribe of American Indians. Once partly civilized, and with missions in their district, the Huicholes have reverted to their original state and have completely cast off the influences of civilization and Christianity. They are not nomadic, but have well-built villages. As a rule they dislike living in the communities and prefer to occupy sepa-

rate houses on small ranches, only gathering at their pueblos for ceremonies, feasts, councils, etc., while the elect of the tribe, such as the chiefs, medicine men, and other officials, reside in the villages permanently.

Their houses are circular in form and are constructed of stone walls with thatched roofs. Their food consists of corn, beans, and other vegetables, grown on well-tilled but small farms. Meat is never eaten except for religious purposes.

In physical appearance, these Indians are of medium height, reddish brown in color, and have well-cut, regular features, many of the women being strikingly handsome. The men wear their hair in several ways; sometimes in queues, drawn back and bound with bark; sometimes loose and flowing; and at other times loosely secured with a fillet about the head. The women's hair is invariably mixed with ribbons; but it may be loose, braided, or done up in a sort of "bun."

The man's costume consists of a cotton or woolen shirt of native weave, and often elaborately embroidered, a scanty breechcloth, and palm sandals. The women wear skirts and tunics of cotton or wool and sandals of woven palm leaf.

Throughout central Mexico, the Huicholes have a wonderful reputation as doctors, and are frequently called upon by the Spanish Mexicans, even of the highest classes. Indeed, nearly every member of the tribe appears to be a doctor of some sort. While, like most Indians, their medical practice consists chiefly of nostrums and magic, yet there is no doubt

that they possess a deep knowledge of herbs and natural drugs, and also are able to cure many ills by means of hypnotism or auto-suggestion.

But it is in their religious beliefs and observances that the Huicholes are most remarkable. Temples are everywhere and "god houses" are still more numerous. Outwardly, the temples resemble the ordinary dwellings, but are larger; while within, they are very different. In the center of the floor is a sacred fire, while on the farther side of the fire, or opposite the door which always opens to the east, is a mound or low pyramid of hard-packed volcanic ash, usually carved with figures of deer, which are most sacred animals to these Indians. Upon these sacred mounds the shamen or medicine men stand and chant the rituals during ceremonies. Outside the temples, and usually near every dwelling, are the smaller temples or god houses.

During religious and other ceremonies, offerings are made at these temples and god houses. These consist of bowls of chicha, food, utensils, decorations, and innumerable ceremonial arrows. According to the Huicholes, these offerings become valueless after five years; and, at the expiration of that period, the offerings are destroyed, and the entire temple roof torn down and renewed.

No one, not even a member of the tribe, knows exactly how many gods the Huicholes have. In fact they are unlimited, for to these Indians every knoll, hill, or stone of unusual form or color is a deity.

Moreover, each god has from seven to ten names, so that it is impossible for a stranger even to hope

to acquire a knowledge of Huichole mythology. Very strange are some of the names bestowed upon the gods of these Indians. For example, there are Father-Deer-Hunter, Mother-West-Wind, Grandmother-Growing-Corn, Uncle-Little-Rabbit-One, etc.

All of these deities are supposed to dwell in water holes and springs, the Indians claiming that all gods originally came from the sea, and on land made water holes in which to live. The men are considered sons of gods, and the women daughters of goddesses. Hence it is not surprising that these Indians are intensely religious, that every custom and act is connected with religion, or has some sacred significance, or that such elaborate ceremonies and innumerable offerings are made to gods, who are regarded as immediate ancestors.

Another peculiar and interesting feature of the Huicholes' religion is their extensive use of images. These are of clay, stone, and wax, often decorated with beads, and usually painted in symbolic designs. In addition to these, stone symbols are used, which are elaborately painted with designs which have well understood meanings and often tell, to the initiated, complete legends.

Sacrifices of animals are frequent, the most sacred being deer. Among the most noteworthy and profusely used offerings are ceremonial arrows. These are not only ornamented with wax paintings, but are decorated with beadwork strips, feathers, queer targetlike affairs of worsted and colored cotton thread, medicine packets, etc.

In their arts and industries, the Huicholes show great skill and artistic ability. Their baskets are excellent; their hats, adorned with feathers, are striking; they weave magnificent textiles of cotton and wool; and their wax painting is truly remarkable. Even the decorative designs on their arrows are made with colored wax, and instead of using thread for sewing beads on objects, they stick them on with wax.

In temperament, the Huicholes are peaceful if not molested; but they possess a strongly warlike spirit, and are splendid fighters, using powerful bows, war clubs, and knives, and wearing padded woolen shields or armor as protections.

Many of the Mexican tribes are so thoroughly civilized that they are, to all intents and purposes, Mexicans, and have lost all their old tribal customs, habits, and ways, although retaining their dialects, their tribal unity, and their arts. Many are noted for their consummate skill as silver workers and others are famed for their pottery. Many are experts at weaving and, on most primitive looms, weave the beautiful *zerapes* or Mexican shawls, some of which are veritable marvels of the textile art and cannot be duplicated or equaled by machinery.

South of Mexico proper, in Yucatan and Guatemala, are many tribes, some civilized and some savage, largely of Mayan ancestry or showing strong influences of the Maya rule and culture which, in centuries past, dominated much of Central America. The Maya type extends well into Honduras and crops up here and there as far south as Panama.

But in Nicaragua, Salvador, and Costa Rica the tribes as a whole are distinct. In Nicaragua are many Indians of Carib stock. These are not indigenous, but are descendants of West Indian Caribs exiled to the Nicaraguan coast by the British in the days when the Antillean Caribs maintained a constant and unremitting warfare with the Europeans.

Among the true Nicaragua tribes the best known and most typical are the Sumus and Mosquitos, the latter being much mixed with the exiled West Indian Caribs. These tribes make excellent beadwork, dress (when not too much influenced by the white and colored Nicaraguans) in bark-cloth costumes, and are very fond of wooden effigies or proxies of weird forms, which are noteworthy for their long, jointed limbs. Their woodwork as a rule is crude, their weapons, except those used in fishing, are primitive, and they depend largely upon agriculture, fishing, and laboring on the plantations and at logwood cutting for a livelihood.

In Salvador, too, there are a number of distinctive tribes; but as Salvador is the most progressive, thickly settled, and most highly cultivated country of Central America, the Indians are largely civilized or outwardly so. However, they retain many of their aboriginal customs. The Lencas, Pipils, and Cacaoperas are noted for their fine hammocks and magnificent textile-work, much of which is so finely and evenly woven that it seems impossible that it is made by hand on crude primitive looms. The carved woodwork of these Indians is also very ad-

mirable. In their dances and ceremonials they make use of a great variety of masks. Some of these are roughly made of wild hog or peccary skin, others are carved from wood, and some are elaborately fashioned and very lifelike.

In northwestern Costa Rica are the Guatusos, a semicivilized, forest race with quite distinctive customs, arts, and industries. In eastern Costa Rica are the Talamancas, a well-built, brown-skinned people dwelling beside the forest rivers and closely allied to the Bri-bris who inhabit the mountains near the Panama border. Farther west are the Cotos, the Terribis, and several related tribes about whom comparatively little is known.

Among the heavily forested mountains of northeastern Panama is the small and rapidly disappearing tribe known as the Shayshans or Palenques, who in many of their ways, as well as in dialect, are strongly Mayan. The Shayshans, who numbered less than fifty individuals two years ago, are light yellowish brown in color, of medium height, well proportioned, and highly intelligent. Their faces are oval, the noses often strongly aquiline, the eyes full and straight, the chins rounded, and the foreheads very high.

Their houses are well built and are raised several feet above the earth, and are usually located on high ground near the rivers. There are no villages, the people dwelling in widely separated houses scattered through the unexplored forests.

The tribe is ruled by a cacique or king who appoints deputies, usually blood relatives, to admin-

ister the affairs of the outlying districts of his domain.

Although forest Indians, and depending largely on forest products for a livelihood, yet they are not primarily hunters or fishermen nor are they agriculturalists. Their vegetable food consists principally of wild fruits and tubers, a species of almond, and the buds and nuts of forest palm trees. A little corn and considerable cacao is grown, the cacao beans being toasted and ground and used like coffee instead of being prepared as chocolate.

They are a peaceful, quiet race, but do not encourage strangers to enter their country. This attitude is due largely to the fact that influenza was introduced by the Panamaians several years ago, and the Shayshans have been decimated by the disease, nearly two hundred members of the tribe having died within three years.

They are deficient in arts, their pottery and basketwork being very crude and their woodwork coarse. They have no knowledge of weaving cloth or of fashioning ornamental beadwork; but they make fairly good hammocks and excellent bags and nets from pita fiber. Their weapons consist of powerful bows and arrows, fish spears, javelins, and blowguns in which clay pellets are used in place of darts.

Perhaps their most striking feature is the headdress worn by the chiefs and during ceremonials. This consists of a fillet of pita ornamented with cotton tassels and fringe, and has a fan-shaped arrangement of feathers above the forehead. I do

not know of any other tribe which uses this type of feather headdress, and it is particularly interesting as it is identical with the descriptions and figures left us by the earliest European visitors to America, and is exactly like the Maya headdresses shown on the ancient sculptures of that race.

A short distance south and east of the Shayshan district are the Boorabbis, belonging to the Guaymi race, and differing very slightly from the true Guaymis who inhabit the high mountain plateaus of the interior of Panama. In many respects the Guaymis are very distinct from any other Central American tribe and they are far superior, mentally and physically, to any other Panama tribe. They average much taller than most tropical Indians and are well built and perfectly proportioned, in their physique reminding one of the North American Sioux. Their color varies from an ocher or light brown in the men to a very light olive in the women, some of the latter being no darker than a brunet white woman. The eyes are straight, fairly large, and are not infrequently light brown or hazel. The hair is straight but fine, and is a deep brown rather than black, and in the case of the women is often decidedly tawny. The typical Guaymi face is rather oval, with broad forehead, high but not very prominent cheek bones, heavy but rounded chin, and a straight or slightly aquiline nose with well developed bridge.

The tribe numbers between twenty and thirty thousand and is governed by three chiefs, two of whom are subservient in tribal matters to the third



From paintings from life by the author

PANAMA INDIANS

Boorabbi — Bogenah

Shayshan — Teguala



Photographs by the author

CARIB INDIANS

Carib Girl, British Guiana — Carib Man, British Guiana

Island Caribs, Dominica Island, British West Indies

Carib Family, Venezuela

or head chief, although supreme in the administration of their own districts. There are no villages, the houses being scattered through the mountains, often several days' march apart. They are well built with stout walls of split timbers, high roofs of thick thatch, and are large enough to accommodate a number of related families, each family occupying a little apartment placed alongside the wall, and all using the central portion of the house in common.

In habits the Guaymis are very cleanly. Water is always placed out of reach of domestic animals, the floors of the houses are swept and cleaned several times each day, chickens and other livestock are kept out of the houses, and great care is taken that the houses are so placed that drainage from them cannot contaminate the stream used for drinking purposes.

Although excellent hunters and fishermen, yet the Guaymis are principally agricultural. They raise corn, rice, many vegetables and fruits, sweet cassava, coffee, cacao, and many other food plants. They possess splendid mountain ponies and many cattle. Although splendid horsemen, yet when traveling long distances over the mountains, they prefer to go afoot and to travel at night.

They are famed for their beautifully woven and highly decorative pita hemp chakaras or bags; they make excellent pottery and have a wonderful eye for form; they weave most elaborate and magnificent bead collars and ornaments; and they are adept at woodworking. They also produce excellent horse-

hair work, and for spinning hair and pita rope and cord they use a very cleverly designed machine operated by a bow and spindle.

Although an unconquered race, and maintaining their independence and all tribal laws, customs, and traditions, and zealously guarding their territory against encroachment on the part of the Panamaians and other strangers, yet they are far from being savages. They are quick to avail themselves of articles of civilized manufacture and prefer the white man's cloth to that of their own weaving.

The women's costume, on ordinary occasions, consists of a loose wrapperlike, one-piece garment, often of gay colors, and decorated with patterns of contrasting colors sewed or appliquéd upon the ground material. When traveling far, and in rainy weather, they strip to a bit of cotton or calico about the loins.

The men's costume consists of loose, full trousers and a loose, smocklike shirt of cotton cloth, the trousers' seams, the yoke of the shirt, the shoulders, and oftentimes the sleeves, being highly decorated by appliquéd designs in contrasting colors. Like the women, the men discard all but a breech clout when on the march or exposed to rain.

Both sexes wear well-made hats of braided palm, usually woven in patterns of black and white, and often having a band of feathers about the crown. These hats are interesting as they are an evolution of the feather crown formerly used, which, merely by the addition of a crown and a wider brim, became a hat.

During dances and ceremonials, or when on official business or wishing to appear at their best, the men attire themselves in bead collars, bead breast plates, girdles and head bands of human scalp locks, strings of animal claws and teeth, and feather headdresses denoting their rank and station. Very often the latter are truly magnificent, the dance chiefs wearing headdresses of priceless snow-white egret plumes. Those of the medicine chiefs are of the long hair from the tail of the giant ant bear. The lesser chiefs, headmen, etc., wear feathers of herons, eagles, hawks, macaws, and other birds.

Most striking and gorgeous of all are the headdresses of the ranking chiefs. These are composed of the long, iridescent green tail plumes of the resplendent trogon or quetzal. This was the sacred bird of the Aztecs, and only the kings were permitted to use its feathers. Among the Guaymis the use of quetzal plumes is confined to the chiefs, and while the bird is not considered sacred it is regarded with reverence and is considered regal.

This alone might lead one to suspect some relationship between the Guaymis and the Aztecs, and such a suspicion is confirmed by the fact that the Guaymi dialect is distinctly Aztec in many of its words, that the high chief is called Montezuma, and that the spear throwing stick or atlatl of the ancient Mexicans is still in use by the Guaymis and is known to them as *natlatdi.*

Aside from this throwing stick, by means of which a Guaymi can hurl a spear with amazing accuracy for a surprising distance, these Indians use well-

Headdresses, Central and South America

1. Headdress, Shayshan Indians, Panama
2. Headdress, Boorabbi Indians, Panama
3. Headdress, Guaymi Indians, Panama
4. Guaymi Headdress of Antbear Hair, Panama
5. Headdress, Teguala Indians, Panama
6. Headdress, Tupi-Towali Indians, Panama
7. San Blas Headdress of Flowers, Panama
8. Crowns of Wood and Bamboo Strips, Chokoi Indians, Colombia
9. Headdress of Feathers, Talamanca Indians, Costa Rica
10. Head Ornament, Mosquito Indians, Nicaragua
11. Headdress, Salvador
12. Headdress, Tucano Indians, Colombia
13. Headdress, Carib Indians, Guiana
14. Headdress of Cotton, Carib Indians, Guiana
15. Feather Crown, Akawoia Indians, Guiana
16. Feather Crown, Wai-Woi Indians, Brazil
17. Feather Crown, Oriente Indians, Ecuador
18. Feather Crown, Tucano Indians, Brazil
19. Headdress of Feathers, Yurema Indians, Brazil
20. Headdress of Feathers, Caraja Indians, Brazil
21. Headdress of Feathers, Caraja Indians, Brazil
22. Headdress of Feathers, Gran Chaco Indians, Paraguay
23. Headdress of Textiles and Feathers, Yungas Indians, Bolivia
24. Headdress of Basketry, Campas Indians, Peru
25. Feather Crown, Amuensha Indians, Peru
26. Headdress of Textiles and Feathers, Pano Indians, Bolivia
27. Headdress of Basketry and Feathers, Pano Indians, Bolivia
28. Headdress of Feathers, Aimara Indians, Bolivia



made and powerful bows and arrows, javelins, and fishing spears.

Their religion is a modified sun worship; they use many fetishes and charms; and they carry the use of proxies to extremes. They have numerous dances and ceremonials, the most interesting of which is the stick dance. (Chapter VIII.)

Artificially sharpened teeth are universal among the Guaymis, and quite frequently, the front teeth are ornamented by perforations and notches near the edges. Although these Indians do not practice tattooing they have developed facial painting to an art. Aside from the tribal mark—a line drawn from the bridge of the nose diagonally across the cheeks—each painted mark or pattern has its own particular significance, and, in order that these may be always the same, the Guaymis use carved wooden stamps for printing the paint designs on their faces.[1]

Another interesting custom of the Guaymis is their use of colored and knotted strings for sending messages. These are of plaited palm fiber and are white, colored or braided in checks, stripes, or spots of contrasting black and white. Each color and pattern has its meaning and, by tying knots of various sizes and in varying groups and numbers in the strings, almost any conceivable meaning is conveyed. Thus a white string indicating time is

[1] For shaving, or rather as a depilatory, the Guaymis, as well as the Boorabbis, use the seeds of a wild grass. These have sharp stiff barbs on one end and when held by the stem and drawn across the skin, pull out the hairs most expeditiously.

knotted to show the day; another of black indicating a ceremonial message is knotted to mean the character and purpose of the ceremonial; while a third of a pattern indicating a place or locality message is knotted to indicate the spot where the ceremony is to be held. The three when sent together to a distant house will readily convey the message that at a certain time and place a certain ceremony is to be held.

Strangely enough, in the heart of the Guaymi country, there dwells a very distinct tribe known as the Bogenahs. These Indians are most primitive, and in habits, dialect, and physical appearance have little resemblance to any other known American tribe. They are very short, the men averaging about five feet in height; they have strong bowed legs, long arms, and large hands and feet, and are usually round shouldered and rather pot-bellied. In color they are a deep sienna brown, their foreheads are low and receding, their noses flat and almost bridgeless, their nostrils wide, their cheek bones high and prominent, their lips thick, and their eyes narrow and very oblique. The men have well-developed mustaches and beards of the mandarin type and, in every way, they appear strikingly Mongolian, or, I might better say, Tibetan. They are lacking in intelligence, extremely mischievous and cunning, and almost childish in their actions and behavior.

They have no fixed homes but are true nomads, wandering about through the mountains, and subsisting on any game and wild food plants they can

find. During the rainy season they build flimsy huts for shelters, but during the dry months they sleep on the ground wherever night finds them.

They are kept in complete subservience by the Guaymis, are not allowed to have their own chiefs, and are regarded as little superior to animals. Indeed, the Guaymis treat them with good-natured tolerance, much as they would treat some harmless and perfectly useless domestic creatures. Strangely enough, although the Bogenahs have lost most of their own customs and have adopted many Guaymi weapons, ways, and habits, yet, completely surrounded and ruled as they are by the Guaymis, and though numbering only a few hundred individuals, the Bogenahs have never learned the Guaymi tongue but adhere to their own dialect which the Guaymis have been forced to learn in order to communicate with them.

Further south and east in Panama are the Coclés, an intelligent, light-brown tribe remarkably similar in many ways to the Andean tribes of South America. Although the Coclés have been thoroughly civilized for centuries, and have even forgotten their own language, yet they still maintain their ancient customs in dances and ceremonials. Their most interesting and remarkable dance is the Kukwa, so named because the dance costumes are made from the kukwa bark. This dance is very similar in its purpose, significance, and costumes to the devil dances of Peru and Bolivia (see Chapter VIII).

On the other hand, the few Coclé words known to

the older members of the tribe, as well as the names of localities, etc., are strikingly Mayan. For example, the word "Kwah" meaning tree is identical with the Maya word which gave Guatemala its name, the letter *G* having been substituted by the Spaniards for *K* which does not occur in the Spanish alphabet.

The Coclé Indians are hard working, industrious, and are the only inhabitants of their portion of Panama who carry on any agricultural work. Unlike any other tropical American Indians with whom I am acquainted, the Coclés have both dry-season and rainy-season houses. The dry-weather house is an open-sided, shedlike structure with thatched roof, whereas the wet-weather house is solidly built of wattles plastered with adobe.

South and east of the Coclé district, along the Atlantic coast of Panama and on the adjacent islands, live the so-called San Blas tribes. These Indians are probably the best known of all the Panama tribes, for their proximity to civilization, their frequent visits to Colon, their not infrequent uprisings, and the exploitation of some of their members as "White Indians" have kept the tribe more or less in the public eye.

Although ordinarily referred to as San Blas or Tule Indians, yet, as a matter of fact, they are a confederation of four distinct tribes all belonging to the same race. These tribes are the Kunas, Towalis, Tupi-Towalis, and Tegualas. Originally each tribe had its own dialect, customs, and other distinctive peculiarities. They are now more or less mixed and

have adopted the Towali language as a common tongue, although the Kunas still use their own dialect and the older members of the other tribes converse among themselves in their tribal tongues.

Despite the fact that they are a confederation, and that a chief who is a member of one tribe may and often does rule over members of the other tribes, still the ancient intertribal feuds survive and frequently open hostilities between villages break out.

Originally these Indians inhabited the mainland rather than the islands; but to avoid mosquitoes and for protection against enemies, the majority of the Indians moved to the San Blas islands, only the Kunas remaining in large numbers on the mainland.

They are all short, stocky people with heavy shoulders, deep chests, and small lower limbs—typical river or water Indians—and in color vary from the light brownish yellow of the Kunas to the rich cinnamon-brown of the Towalis. Their noses are rather broad but slightly aquiline in profile, foreheads low and broad, cheek bones high, eyes straight, chins rounded, and hair black, straight, and rather coarse.

In many of their customs, in dialect, and in tradition they are distinctly Carib and are unquestionably offshoots of that race. And, like the Caribs, they have always been noted as savage, valiant fighters. In the old days they were constantly at war with the Spaniards and were allies of the British buccaneers, and many to-day speak English and no Spanish. They are famed as sailors and large num-

bers of the men have served as seamen on sailing ships and have visited all the ports of the world. Being excellent linguists they have acquired a working knowledge of many tongues, and one man whom I employed spoke ten European dialects, among which was Russian.

Although primarily a fishing race, yet they are also agriculturalists and cultivate gardens and fields on the mainland. They are industrious, quiet, and peaceful, unless aroused; and are well-to-do, as the coconuts and ivory nuts which abound in their territory afford an easy means of acquiring whatever they desire.

Although never truly conquered, yet they acknowledge the supremacy of Panama, at the same time maintaining tribal independence. On many of the islands, and on the mainland, they live in exactly the same manner as their ancestors; but on several islands they have become thoroughly civilized and up to date.

On these islands the old-time Indian houses have been done away with and neat bungalows have been built; there are wide streets, street lamps, and other modernities; a gang of street-cleaners sweeps the thoroughfares daily; there are club houses and dance halls and village improvement societies; and the chiefs have been done away with and the communities are administered by young men elected by popular vote.

These Indians are extremely intelligent, and many members of the tribe have graduated with high honors from the National Institute of Panama, while

many of the young girls are taking courses in training as hospital nurses in Panama City.

In contrast with these up-to-date villages and tribesmen are the islands where the old-time customs prevail. Here the houses are so densely packed together that it is barely possible to pass between them, the eaves are so low that one has to stoop while traversing the narrow lanes where sun never enters, and there is little or no attempt at sanitation. The houses, walled and roofed with thatch, are large, and often house several families, and life is almost communistic.

Whereas on the civilized islands European garments are worn, on the others the women adhere to the tribal costume which, although unquestionably more attractive, picturesque, and becoming is far less sanitary than conventional garments. The costume of the San Blas women is, in fact, the most striking and peculiar feature of the tribes. It consists of three garments: a strip of cloth about the loins and thighs and worn like trunks or knickers, a *mola* or smocklike jacket or blouse, and a wide strip of bright-colored cloth worn like a Javanese sarong and falling to the ankles.

Both the loin cloth and the sarong-like skirt are usually of calico print; but the mola is a unique and beautiful affair of Indian manufacture. It is, in fact, a veritable cameo in cloth. In making this garment a number of layers of variously colored cloth are stitched together. This pattern or design is then formed by cutting away portions of one or more layers of cloth, the edges are turned under and

hemmed, and the result is a most artistic and colorful design of as many colors as there are layers of material. The designs usually embody the clan emblem or totem of the woman's family. This is usually so greatly conventionalized as to be almost or quite unrecognizable, and as a rule, various geometrical and arbitrary patterns are added to it. Oftentimes most unexpected designs appear, such as Chinese or Arabic letters, Roman numerals, clock dials, steamships, etc., for anything which appeals to the Indian may be embodied in the design of a mola.

In addition to the garments described, the women wear immense golden disk earrings and heavy, triangular gold nose rings which, in combination with the gaudy red and yellow bandana draped over the head, give them a most strikingly Egyptian or oriental appearance. About their legs and arms they wear tight ligatures of beads so wound as to form geometrical designs. Their chests are covered with strings of beads, shells, coins, silver ornaments, teeth, fish bones, claws, seeds, sandalwood, and countless other odd, ornamental, or tinkling articles.

Ordinarily the men wear trousers or overalls of dungaree or cotton, loose smocklike shirts with curiously pleated and tucked bosoms, shoulders, and cuffs, and cheap straw hats or battered derbies many sizes too small for their large heads. This custom of selecting a head piece which perches precariously upon the uppermost portion of the occiput has often puzzled those who have seen these Indians. But like nearly everything else, it has its reason. To the

Indian the hat is an ornament and not a protection, and as the Indian feather crown is so designed as to rest on the top of the head, the Indian, when substituting a hat for a crown, quite naturally and according to age-old custom selects one which may be worn exactly as the crown is worn.

When among themselves, the men usually discard the shirt, decorate their faces with the painted tribal marks, and wear disks of gold in their ears. During ceremonials they array themselves in breast ornaments of silver and pelican bones, wild animals' teeth, and beads, and wear striking headdresses.

The headdress of the chiefs and medicine men are gorgeous affairs consisting of basketry frames covered with bands of brilliant-colored feathers or halo-like rings of eagle plumes. About the rims of the frames are placed a number of pompons consisting of short lengths of cane topped by bunches of bright feathers or aigrets and surmounted by the long red, blue, and yellow tail feathers of macaws.

Very distinctive are the dance crowns of the rank and file. These are woven from the cerise and magenta-colored blossoms of a forest tree and are most effective. They appear to be peculiar to these San Blas tribes, as they have never been found in use elsewhere.

All of these San Blas Indians are adept woodcarvers; they can make excellent pottery; they weave splendid cotton and palm-fiber hammocks and a heavy, canvaslike cotton cloth; and they are experts at beadwork, basketry, and other Indian arts.

Their dugout canoes are splendid sea boats, and, under the spread of immense sails, are very swift. Although their boats are entirely open, yet these Indians do not hesitate to sail far out to sea, and they constantly navigate the rough waters between their island homes and Colon with their canoes laden to the gunwales with ivory nuts or coconuts.

For weapons these tribes use rather poorly made bows and arrows and short blowguns with nonpoisonous darts.

All of these confederated tribes employ wooden images as proxies; they use large rudely carved "gods" or proxies in their houses; and they are firm believers in innumerable charms and fetishes. They believe that the deities reside in the sun, moon, and rivers, and they hold many creatures sacred. The dead are buried in hammocks on the mainland far from the villages, and the spirits are supposed to remain in the vicinity of the graves.

The tribes are ruled by a number of chiefs, and subchiefs. Each subchief rules his own village or island and is aided by a council or cabinet. Over these are district chiefs or governors, while the head chief or king is, theoretically, supposed to rule over the entire confederation. As a matter of fact, little heed is given to either the district chiefs or the head chief, and each community or island is virtually independent.

Among these Indians the descent is by the female line and the men's families are of little importance. When a man marries he becomes the virtual slave of his father-in-law until a girl is born of the union.

I have known of old men with large families of boys who still toiled for their fathers-in-law.

Women hold a very high position among these Indians. Their duties are light, they are most zealously protected and guarded, and they are the most emancipated of emancipated women. Mere man is entirely subservient to them, they pay little or no attention to the chief's authority, unless it suits them, and they own everything. A man cannot sell or trade any of his possessions without his wife's consent, and he actually owns nothing aside from his garments, weapons, and canoe. Polygamy is permitted but is seldom known, for there is far too much danger of a man being compelled to labor for his wife's father to induce a married man to take a second chance at it.

Among these confederated San Blas tribes are many partial albinos, repulsive-looking creatures with tow-colored or almost white hair, pasty, pimply faces, weak, almost colorless, eyes, and with their skin often disfigured with blotches or "liver spots." A few years ago these freaks came prominently into the limelight of publicity through the announcement that they were a newly discovered race of White Indians.

As a matter of fact, such partial albinos are known among nearly all Indian tribes; but as a rule, they are either killed at birth or are kept out of sight. Among the San Blas tribes, however, they are regarded with more or less superstition and are spoken of as "moon children," the belief being that they are the offspring of the moon god and the In-

dian mother, and hence are of partial celestial origin, a belief which no doubt originated owing to the pale color of the albinos and the fact that they can see better after dark than during the day.

Moreover, owing to the conditions of life on the islands, such albinos as exist are always visible, and hence their numbers appear to be proportionately greater than among other tribes. But they are by no means as numerous as has been stated, and according to my own observations, and the statements of the Indians, there are less than one hundred of the freaks among the thirty odd thousand members of the confederated tribes.

Inland from the borders of the San Blas, or rather Kuna district, dwell the Warraus, a nomadic forest tribe, reputedly savage and hostile, of whom very little is known. The other Indians fear them; but, as far as is known, they mind their own affairs and molest no one. Three individuals whom I met were friendly though shy. They were tall, well formed, dark brown in color, and with thin aquiline noses. Their weapons were powerful bows and long, lance-headed arrows, as well as unusually long blowguns in which nonpoisonous darts were used.

Farther east and south, and extending from the Kuna district into Colombia, are the Chokois, a quiet, docile, good-natured race of medium height. They are dark brown in color with rather broad, straight noses, prominent cheek bones, small eyes, low foreheads, small chins, and very coarse, straight, black hair. They are primarily agricultural, although depending a great deal upon fishing. They

dwell in small villages near the rivers. Their houses are open-sided, thatched huts raised several feet above the ground. They are still primitive in life, customs, and habits, even though in close touch with the Panamaian settlements.

As a rule the men wear only a breech cloth and the women are content with a strip of calico wound about the thighs and reaching to the knees. During dances and ceremonials they deck themselves in bead stomachers, bead head bands, silver armlets and bracelets, collars of silver and mother-of-pearl, and they wear unique and striking crowns of painted bamboo or wooden strips.

The Chokois are extremely good-natured and fond of fun, and are constantly laughing, joking, and chattering. They are industrious and hard working when the mood seizes them, but are happy-go-lucky and lead a care-free life. They are great believers in fetishes, and every hut is filled with roughly-carved images of men and animals which are regarded as proxies for the guardian spirits of every conceivable act, deed, or event. There are "gods" of the household, of the family, of the dance, of the hunt, of the field, of fertility, of food, of children, and so on without end.

As woodworkers the Chokois rank fairly high; but their pottery is crude, their basketry is not remarkable, and they have no knowledge of textile weaving. Their beadwork, while striking, is neither elaborate nor intricate, and they do not even make hammocks but sleep on bark-cloth mats with carved wooden pillows.

Their weapons are bows, arrows, and fish spears, and occasionally they use long blowguns and plain darts. These guns, which are made of two grooved sections fitted together and bound with fiber, are not, however, of Chokoi make, but are acquired through trade with the Colombian tribes.

The Chokoi canoes are narrow and round bottomed and are finished with flattened platformlike ends on which the Indians stand when poling their craft along the rivers.

Oddly enough, feathers are taboo among the Chokois and are never used for any purpose. It is for this reason that they employ the wooden and bamboo crowns which, at a short distance, resemble feather crowns and which attracted the attention of the earliest visitors to Panama and were mentioned in the journals of Dampier, Esquemeling, and others.

For musical instruments the Chokois use excellently made, barrel-shaped drums, Panpipes, reed flutes, whistles of various kinds, gourd rattles, and flageolets equipped with mouthpieces.

Strictly speaking, the Chokois are not a Central American tribe, but should be included among the tribes of South America where, in Colombia, they are very numerous and occupy an extensive area.

CHAPTER XXII

INDIANS OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN JUNGLES

ALTHOUGH there is no sharply drawn line between the Central and South American tribes, yet as a whole, the South American Indians are totally distinct and belong to racial stocks which do not exist in middle or North America. With the exception of one or two cases, none of the racial groups of North or Central America are known to inhabit the southern continent. The Chokois, as already noted, lap over into Panama and the tribes of the San Blas confederation of the Isthmus are of Carib stock. But, aside from these, the Indians whom we find inhabiting the mountains, forests, and plains of South America are wholly distinct, as regards racial affinities, customs, dialects, and even physical characteristics.

Despite the fact that there are more tribes and more individual Indians in South than in North America, they may be far more readily and certainly divided into a few races, for through the countless ages which have passed since South America was first inhabited by man, the innumerable Indian tribes have not become so widely differentiated nor so inextricably mixed as in North America.

Thus, over almost the entire area of northern and

eastern South America, from Colombia to Brazil and from the Caribbean coast to the head waters of the Amazon, there are few tribes which may not be classed as belonging to either the Carib, Arowak, or Warrau races. Although these tribes may vary tremendously, and at first appear to be of entirely distinct stock, yet, in nearly every case, we may trace relationship with one of the three races named.

Of the three, the Carib tribes are probably the most numerous and most widely distributed. Originally, Caribs inhabited the Lesser Antilles and some of the larger islands, but to-day, with the exception of Dominica, Saint Vincent, and Trinidad, the islands are destitute of Indian inhabitants.

Being courageous and savage fighters, excellent boatmen, powerfully built men, and cannibals, the Caribs wandered far from their original home and conquered, destroyed or absorbed, literally and figuratively, many other tribes. Moreover, it was a Carib custom to carry off the women of the vanquished and to adopt them. In other cases, parties of raiding Caribs, after conquering an enemy race, settled down and formed a new colony.

As a result of all this, the original Carib characteristics became greatly altered, and, in a new environment, with their descendants partly of alien blood, and with acquired habits, customs, and traits inherited from the captive females, these offshoots of the Caribs became to all intents and purposes distinct tribes.

In fact, many of the tribes of Carib ancestry were constantly at war with the true Caribs and with

others of Carib origin, and so long has this Carib migration been going on that no one can state positively where the true Caribs originated. Some authorities claim that the race was indigenous to northern South America and that the West Indies were settled by wanderers from the continent. Other equally prominent ethnologists believe that the Caribs originally dwelt in the interior of Brazil, or even about the upper Amazon, and from there spread to the coast and the islands. Others, with whom I concur, are convinced that the true Caribs were Antillean, and having overcrowded the islands, migrated to the mainland and from there spread west to Panama and across the continent to the western slopes of the Andes.

There are many very strong arguments in favor of this theory. Unless the mainland had become far more densely populated than we have reason to think, there would have been no reason for the Caribs' migrating in numbers to the West Indies. They might, to be sure, have raided the islands in search of food, in the shape of other Indians, but in that case they would have been more likely to return to their ancestral homes than to have settled on the islands where, very soon, their warlike and cannibalistic propensities would have been greatly curtailed.

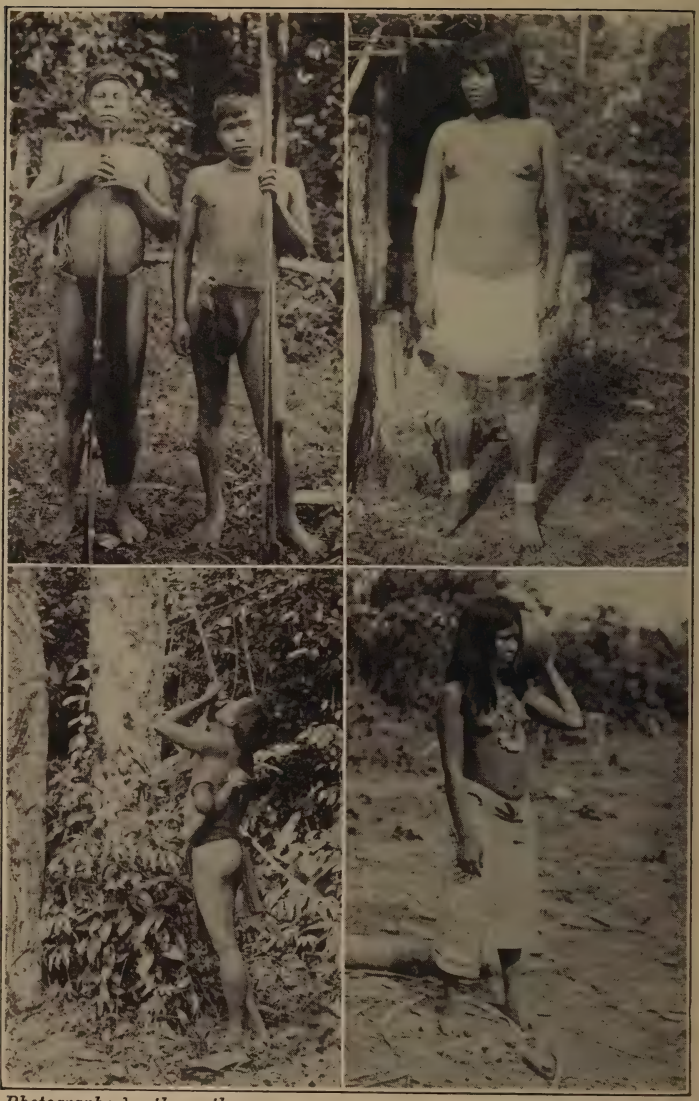
Moreover, had they originated on the continent we would expect to find the purest and most typical Caribs in South America, with a mixed or altered tribe on the islands. But as a matter of fact, the reverse is the case. Only along a very limited stretch of



Photographs by the author

TYPES OF JUNGLE INDIANS

Taruma Man
Atoradi Man
Wapisiana Man
Taruma Woman
Atoradi Woman
Wapisiana Woman



Photographs by the author

MACUSHI, AREKUNA,
BRITISH GUIANA

AREKUNA INDIAN USING
BLOWGUN, GUIANA

AKAWOIA GIRL,
BRITISH GUIANA

CHOKOI GIRL,
PANAMA

territory near the sea are there typical true Caribs in South America, whereas, on the Antilles, the Caribs were of the pure yellow strain so easily distinguished by physical characters, from the other races.

There is also the question of canoes, hammocks, blowguns, and many customs and habits. The insular Caribs have and always have had swift, seaworthy canoes capable of navigating wide stretches of ocean. In these they might easily have visited the continent. But the continental Caribs' craft are purely river boats, adapted for calm waters and utterly incapable of ocean voyaging. If then, the Caribs originated in South America why is it that they are no longer sailors and have lost the art of building sea-going craft? On the other hand, if the Caribs came from the islands to South America, and, finding game and men abundant, decided to remain there, they would have had no use for sea-going craft and would have quickly adopted the river type in use by the native tribes.

And if they came from the mainland where the hammock is universally used why did they not introduce that most useful article to the West Indies? Why did they not introduce that most deadly of weapons, the blowgun, and its poisoned darts? And why is it that they did not bring any South American birds, animals, or food plants to their new homes in the Antilles?

Regardless of whether they originally inhabited the islands or the main, the Caribs are a most interesting and puzzling race. In color the true Carib

is a distinct yellow and not brown. He is tall, for a tropical Indian, well proportioned, muscular, with extremely small hands and feet, and has nothing of the Mongol in his features. His face is oval, the forehead high and broad, the eyes large and straight, the cheek bones high but not prominent, the chin firm, the lips thin, and the nose high bridged and often of the Roman type. His beard and mustache are well developed. Quite frequently, his eyes are hazel gray or even bluish. Many of the men are decidedly Semitic in appearance, and many of the women, and particularly the girls, would be indistinguishable from Europeans in a photograph.

Many of their customs also hint at Semitic influence or tradition and, personally, I believe that the Caribs are of southern European origin, perhaps the descendants of Phœnician voyagers, perhaps survivors of Atlantis, or possibly the result of an admixture of Indians and shipwrecked European navigators whose vessels were driven across the Atlantic and wrecked on the Antilles. It is well known to historians that when Columbus touched at Guadeloupe on his second voyage he was greatly disturbed to find the remains of a European-built vessel wrecked upon the beach, and, if one vessel could have reached the West Indies from Europe, why not others?

To the Spaniards, however, the man-eating propensities of the Caribs were far more interesting and remarkable than the discovery of a wrecked ship.

They had never before come into contact with the Caribs, though they had heard of the tribe, and it was the Caribs who gave the word "cannibal" to

our language, the term being merely a mispronounced form of the Indians' name. Among themselves the Caribs call themselves the *Carinya* or, broadly translated, The People Who Eat Alone, and claim descent from the union of a man and a king vulture.

The term "Carinya" is therefore something of an allegory, for the king vulture eats alone while the ordinary buzzards wait until he is done, and, like that bird, the Caribs of pure blood will not allow an Indian of another tribe to eat with him, to use his fire or utensils for cooking, and will not even cook his own meal over a fire used by another Indian. In the past, no doubt, the Caribs did eat very much alone, for a member of any other tribe present when a Carib dined was invariably in the form of a joint, roast, or entrée.

As a tribal mark, the true Carib wears a tuft of the white down of the king vulture attached to his forelock by wax, and wherever we find a tribe wearing a bit of white down, fur, or feathers on the forehead, we may be reasonably certain that the tribe is of Carib stock.

Although such implacable cannibals in the past, the Caribs of to-day are quiet, peaceful, and friendly, and have no cannibalistic tendencies. Though they consider themselves, as they are, superior in intelligence, physique, and other ways, and regard the other tribes with more or less contempt, yet they live on good terms with their neighbors and occasionally intermarry.

They dwell in well-built houses, usually in small

villages or groups, the houses of which are of two types. One form is walled with woven palm, and thatched with palm leaves; the other is merely an open thatched shed.

They are splendid hunters, expert fishermen, skilled lumbermen, and good agriculturalists. They are, where not contaminated by civilization, cleanly, moral, honest, truthful, and hospitable, and once they consider a person a friend or "brother" they will go to any extreme to prove their allegiance.

They make excellent pottery, the Caribs of Surinam alone perpetuating the art of making the beautiful several-toned Carib ware; they are adepts at wood-carving; their basketry is perhaps the finest in South America; they spin cotton and weave splendid hammocks, coarse cloth, and various other articles; and their weapons, consisting of bows, arrows, clubs, lances, fish spears, and harpoons, are beautifully finished.

Like all the other tribes of tropical South America the Caribs depend very largely upon the poisonous cassava or manioc for food.

And, like most of the other Indians of tropical South America the men wear only a "lap" or breech cloth. In the case of the Caribs, however, the front portion of the lap is ornamented and fringed. The women, on the other hand, differ markedly from their neighbors in their costume or lack of costume. When indoors or about the village the Carib women wear only a lap, which differs from that of the men in having no fringe, but when in the jungles or working in the fields, they wear a single garment, worn

like a toga, with one shoulder covered and the other shoulder and breast bare. This garment is not, however, donned through any sense of modesty but to protect the wearer's skin from scratches by thorns, twigs, etc.

In addition to these articles of apparel, the Carib women wear immense bundles of beads strung about their necks, adorn their hair with ribbons and beads, and bind their legs with tight ligatures of cotton woven in place. Both sexes have the lower lip pierced and keep the aperture filled with pins. Formerly the pins used were ornamental labrets; but to-day, the Caribs prefer ordinary white man's pins and use the hole in the lip merely as a pocket. They are uncannily dexterous in removing and inserting the pins by means of the tongue, and, while talking, they constantly slip the pins in and out of the perforation in a most distracting and amazing manner.

Aside from the true Caribs there are innumerable tribes and subtribes of unquestionable Carib stock, as well as many which appear to be a mixture of Carib and other racial bloods, inhabiting the vast area comprising Guiana, Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil, and portions of Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. Even to mention all of these by name would require more space than is possible in a book of this scope, and I can only briefly describe a few of the more interesting and important of them.

Probably most numerous in its members, and covering a wider territory than any other of these tribes, is the Akawoia or Kapohn nation which in-

cludes the true Akawoias and Patamonas as well as several other tribes and subtribes which are indistinguishable to the layman, although differing slightly in dialects and a few customs, arts, and industries.

They are short, stocky Indians with the immensely developed shoulders and chests and underdeveloped legs of the jungle or river Indians, and are much darker in color than the true Caribs, being a decided brown which varies, both tribally and individually, from a russet to a deep sienna shade. The cheek bones are high and often prominent, the forehead low, chin receding, eyes oblique and narrow, nose broad and seldom aquiline, and face beardless or nearly so.

In other words, there is little or no physical resemblance between the Kapohn and the Caribs, and the two races differ almost as greatly in many other respects. Although these tribes are considered by most authorities as closely related, yet, personally, I am of the opinion that there is very little of the Carib stock in the Akawoia tribes. Many words of their dialects are quite distinct, but there are fully as many words which are identical.

Whatever the extent of relationship, there can be no question that the Akawoias have existed as a distinct tribe for many hundreds of years, for they have developed various subtribes, have acquired habits, customs and arts of their own, have become distinctive in features and color, and even have their own religion, beliefs, dances, etc. Moreover, from earliest times, and as far back as tradition goes, they

have been at war with the true Caribs. All of this, however, might have been due to life and environment, and the light yellow Caribs, dwelling near the sea, might have retained their characteristics, whereas others of the race, dwelling in the jungles and mixing with other tribes, might have gradually developed into the brown, apparently distinct Akawoias.

From time immemorial the Akawoia or Kapohn people have been primarily traders, gypsylike wanderers who bartered the products of one tribe for those of another and carried their trading expeditions into the interior of Brazil and to the sea coast in the other direction. And they were by no means peaceful traders. Fully as warlike and as courageous fighters as the true Caribs, the Akawoias were quite willing to force their presence and their business upon any other Indians by force of arms, evidently believing that might made right and that business was business.

As a result of this trading habit, the Akawoias have acquired innumerable arts, beliefs, customs, industries, and even words which belong, naturally, to far distant and distinct tribes, and the Akawoia tongue has become the lingua franca of the forest Indians and is understood by practically every tribe in the interior of the Guianas, southeastern Venezuela, northern Brazil, and eastern Colombia. Obviously this makes it extremely difficult to state positively which tribes are or are not of Carib or even Akawoia stock, for the Akawoia and Carib words have been carried immense distances, and the

trading Kapohn have left their influence upon scores of widely separated tribes.

Although more or less nomadic, as I have said, yet the Akawoia tribes have permanent villages, usually consisting of from ten to fifty houses beside some river in the forest, the landing places and trails being carefully concealed.

The houses are open-sided, thatched sheds, which are ample protection in the tropics. As the villages are moved to new sites whenever the gardens or fields become unproductive, such light, easily constructed dwellings have many advantages.

Like the Caribs and other races, the Akawoia men wear only the lap or breech cloth, but in the case of the Akawoias this garment is a plain strip of scarlet cloth with no ornamentation. The women, on the other hand, do not wear the lap, but in its place use a small bead apron or *queyu,* an ornamental if meager article of apparel which is peculiar to the Indians of the tropical forest belt of northern and central South America and is almost universally used in that territory. In size, the queyu varies according to tribe and individual taste, some being barely four inches square while others are almost skirtlike in dimensions. In every case, however, the queyu is of the same general shape and is always beautifully woven in attractive and artistic patterns. The design, in the case of many tribes, embodies the family emblem of the wearer, for among most of these tribes descent is by the female line. In addition to the queyu, the women wear tight ligatures about the limbs, and adorn themselves with innumerable

necklaces and ornamental painting which often covers them from head to foot.

Unlike the Caribs, who employ facial painting merely for decorative effects and who do not tattoo, the Akawoia races practice tattooing and their painted designs have significance. The tattooing may be in the form of charms or beenas or it may be tribal or family marks or even purely ornamental, whereas the painted designs are ceremonial.

Neither do the Akawoia tribes pierce the lower lip as do the Caribs, and the use of the tribal mark of white vulture down is not known. Like all of the tribes of the interior the Akawoias use many charms of the beena type (see Chapter VI) including the ant, centipede, and nose beenas.

Their weapons are powerful bows, arrows of various kinds, heavy wooden clubs, blowguns, and poisoned darts, fish spears, etc. All of these forest tribes use arrows which are very long, often six or seven feet in length, and which are neither notched nor feathered, except occasionally when one or two bits of feathers are attached, more for decorative effect than to improve the accuracy of the weapons. Despite their ungainly length and lack of feathering, these arrows in the hands of an Indian, and shot from a seven-foot ironwood bow, are most accurate and deadly. I have often seen an Indian shooting at oranges suspended from the waving tips of palm fronds and never missing his mark; and their skill at shooting leaping, rushing fish in the rapids of the rivers is almost uncanny.

Far more deadly than the bow and arrow is the

blowgun and poisoned dart, the most terrible weapon ever invented or used by primitive man. As poison-makers the Akawoian tribes are famed throughout tropical South America, and the bulk of the deadly wurali or curari poison which is used on the blow-gun darts is manufactured by these tribes.

The brewing of the wurali is an almost religious ceremony, and is surrounded with the greatest mystery and secrecy. The exact composition of the stuff is known only to the peaiman or medicine man, who reveals it only to his successor. Although innumerable strange ingredients are employed, such as ants, snake-fangs, scorpions, centipedes, human hair, feathers, blood, etc., most of these are merely added to confuse, impress, and mystify the onlookers, and to conceal the true poisons which are various roots, leaves, and plant juices, mainly of the strychnine family. Various gums and mucilaginous tubers are also added to the mess to give it tenacity and body, and the whole is brewed in a specially made pot which is always destroyed after the wurali is made.

The concoction is mixed with a paddle-like stirrer made in the form of a ceremonial war club and this must, according to Indian belief, be burned in the fire used to cook the poison if the poison is to be efficacious. When properly prepared the wurali is a gummy, dark brown, or black mass much like asphalt or shoemaker's wax in appearance.

It is kept in receptacles made of gourds or nut shells and is most carefully guarded and protected, for it is almost priceless and its virulency is greatly

affected by dampness, heat, or extreme dryness. Only a minute quantity of poison is used on a dart, the wurali forming a thin coating on the very tip of the sliver of palm leaf midrib. The poisoned darts are kept in woven rolls much resembling the tool rolls used by mechanics. This roll, together with a number of unpoisoned darts, is contained in a waterproofed basketry quiver of cylindrical form. To the quiver are attached a tiny basket filled with fluff from the silk cotton tree, the poison receptacle, and the jaw and teeth of the cannibal fish or *peri*.

When a poisoned dart is to be used it is carefully withdrawn from the roll and the poisoned end is twirled between the teeth of the fish jaw, thus notching the dart above the poisoned area and weakening it so the tip will break off at a touch. This is highly important, as otherwise the dart might strike the quarry or some other object and drop to earth where it would endanger the life of any passing Indian who might step upon it.

Next, a bit of the silk-cotton fluff is wound about the extremity of the dart and the tiny arrow is inserted in the blowgun. With a short, explosive puff of breath the tiny messenger of death speeds invisibly, silently to its mark, and so quickly does the wurali destroy that a bird rarely flutters a dozen yards, and a deer seldom runs fifty paces before death overtakes it.

There is no known antidote for the poison, although the Indians claim that if taken in time a mixture of salt and lime juice will counteract the poison. They frequently shoot macaws and other birds with

poisoned darts, treat them with this antidote, and save their lives when the birds are desired as pets. But I have noticed that the darts used in such cases are very slightly poisoned, and I have never been able to induce any Indian to prick himself with a poisoned arrow and then prove the efficacy of the lime and salt remedy.

The accuracy and force of the blowgun darts are truly amazing. I have seen an Indian fire five darts in rapid succession into a visiting card at thirty paces; humming birds are brought down from the tops of tall trees; and the tiny, fragile darts can be blown with such force that they will penetrate nearly half an inch into soft wood.

Oddly enough, although the Akawoia tribes are the most noted poison-makers, and are inveterate users of the blowguns, yet these weapons are never made by the tribe, but are the product of the Myangongs and other tribes who, just as oddly, have no knowledge of concocting the wurali. Hence the Akawoias exchange their poison for the blowguns, and barter both with other tribes, receiving in exchange articles which are in demand by still other Indians.

Like all the neighboring tribes, the Akawoias have innumerable dances and ceremonials, such as the Bimiti, Parasara, etc. (see Chapter VIII), and like their neighbors, they use several slightly alcoholic beverages such as cassiri and paiwarrie. The former is made from the red sweet potato, boiled and slightly fermented, and is not at all unpleasant, and is very refreshing. Paiwarrie, which contains a

trifle more alcohol, is made by the women who masticate the charred cassava cakes and spit the substance into a trough where it soon ferments, the saliva acting like yeast.

When ready for use the paiwarrie is a brownish, disgusting-looking liquid filled with black specks of burned cassava and of a general muddy consistency. It has a slightly sour or tart taste and is very refreshing, though the average person, who is familiar with its preparation, usually has hard work to stomach it. However, both cassiri and paiwarrie are invariably offered to the visitor to an Indian house or camp, and the Indians regard it as a sign of enmity and a deliberate insult if the stranger refuses to drink it. During their festivities the Indians consume vast amounts of these beverages, and the accumulated alcohol finally takes effect and the festival ends in a glorious drunken orgy.

The cassava, used in the preparation of paiwarrie, is the mainstay of all the Indian tribes of tropical and subtropical South America. The root, which in its raw state is deadly poison, is prepared by grating and then pressing the root in a basketry sieve and press combined. This utensil, known as a *metapee*, is in the form of a long cylinder and is so woven that when compressed lengthwise its diameter is increased, and when the ends are drawn apart the diameter is decreased.

The grated cassava is pressed into the metapee when the latter is shortened and of its largest diameter. The upper end of the affair is then attached to a tree limb or rafter; a short bar of wood is in-

serted in the opposite end; and two women seat themselves upon this bar. As their weight draws out the metapee and decreases its diameter, the contents are subjected to enormous pressure which forces the juice out through the interstices of the basket-work and leaves the residue almost dry. Most of the poison of the root is eliminated with the juice, and what remains is readily driven off by heat.

The grated root may either be heated and stirred and dried to a coarse meal known as farine, or it may be toasted or baked in the form of huge, thin cakes or cassava bread. In either case it forms a nutritious but rather dry and tasteless food which, if kept dry, will remain fresh for months. By boiling the meal and drying the liquid on hot stones or plates, tapioca is prepared. The poisonous juice, extracted by the metapee, when boiled to the consistency of syrup becomes nonpoisonous and is used as a preservative and sauce for meats. How the Indians ever discovered that a highly poisonous root could be transformed into a nutritious and healthful food is one of the greatest mysteries of the story of the American Indian.

Although all of these tribes do considerable hunting and fishing—shooting the fish with bow and arrow more often than capturing them by nets or hooks—yet they depend mainly upon agriculture. Their fields are small patches of partly cleared forest where, between the felled trunks and the upstanding stumps of the trees, cassava, sweet potatoes, maize, rice, pigeon peas, yams, and other vegetables are planted.

Whenever a field becomes exhausted or unproductive, or whenever a member of the village dies, the vicinity is abandoned and the people move, bag and baggage, to a new locality. In traveling they always follow the rivers, hauling through and running rapids in their dugouts or in their frail but buoyant woodskins. The dugouts vary in design and size with the various tribes, but the woodskins are always much alike.

These craft can be constructed in a few hours and are often large enough to accommodate a dozen or more Indians. In making a woodskin, a purpleheart tree is felled, two rings are cut around the trunk at the desired distance apart, a longitudinal cut is made connecting these, and by means of wooden wedges the cylindrical section of tough, thick bark is forced off. Notches are then cut near each end, braces are placed between the edges, and the extremities are drawn together and "cocked up" by means of tough forest vines or "bush ropes." The completed woodskin will withstand an immense amount of banging about on rocks, it is light enough to be portaged easily around impassable falls, and if a long portage is necessary it may be abandoned and another woodskin may be made in a short time.

All of these tribes are passionately fond of dances and ceremonials, and will desert their homes and travel hundreds of miles by river to attend a festival. When attiring for the dance, the Akawoia dons a gorgeous, halo-like feather crown with two or three long macaw tail feathers at the rear, and with a long tail or "bob" of bright-colored feathers, birds' skins,

etc., hanging from the back of the crown to the wearer's knees or ankles. In addition to these crowns, many necklaces of beads, teeth, and seeds are worn, as well as bandolier-like bands of jaguar or peccary teeth strung over the shoulders and across the breast. During certain dances, feather capes are worn, and bead belts and girdles of musically tinkling seeds are donned.

As wood-carvers, the Akawoia tribes rank with the Caribs, and their war and ceremonial clubs, their paddles, and their wooden stools are extremely well made. They are also expert basket-makers, and produce fairly good pottery. Like all the forest tribes, they use hammocks, which are woven of cotton twine; and they also weave coarse cotton cloth which is used for baby-carriers, bags, pouches, etc.

In their religion the Akawoias, like the Caribs, believe in a supreme being who dwells in the sky; and in their mythology they have numerous lesser deities. Unlike the Central American tribes, the Akawoias and their neighbors of northern and central South America are not much given to the use of proxies or fetishes in the form of animal or human effigies. Occasionally they use tiny clay or stone figures as good-luck charms or amulets, but the larger wooden images or "gods," so universal in the houses of the Central American tribes, are entirely unknown.

In their home life the men perform many household and camp duties and the women do very little hard labor aside from tilling the fields, gathering the crops, and carrying their own burdens when travel-

ing. The amount that these and the other Indians of the district can carry, by means of a tumpline passed across the forehead and attached to a pack basket on the back, is truly astonishing. From 80 to 100 pounds is the normal load and I have known a young girl to carry 140 pounds for more than twenty miles through forests and over steep mountain trails without the least signs of weariness.

Although polygamy is permitted, it is seldom that a man has more than one wife, and small families of two or three children are the rule. In case a chief has no male child he is permitted to marry his own daughter, the belief being that a son is always born of such a union, and, strangely enough, this is usually the case.

Although quiet, reserved, and even surly in the presence of strangers, yet among themselves, and when they become acquainted with an outsider, they are merry, talkative, light-hearted, and fond of jokes, puns, and games. They are peaceful, docile, and hospitable, and are excellent laborers where the work is adapted to them, as in lumbering, paddling, portaging, droughing, or as boatmen. But, like all their fellows, they are a bit unreliable as steady workers for, without any warning and apparently without reason, they will suddenly drop their work, and even leave wages due them, to go home or to attend some dance or ceremonial. When not spoiled by close contact with civilized men they are moral, honest, truthful, and cleanly. They are very gentle towards their children, are tender-hearted, and are passionately fond of pets of all kinds; but they are

unrelenting in their enmities, never forgive or forget an injury, are easily offended, and are shrewd, canny, and utterly without conscience when it comes to trading or business matters.

Farther south, on the high interior savannas of the Brazil-Venezuela-Guiana boundaries, dwell several other tribes of supposedly Carib stock. Among these are the Macushis and Arekunas, the latter extending well into the forested area or Akawoia district, while the Macushis are strictly savanna Indians.

In many ways the Arekunas closely resemble the Akawoias, the principal differences being due to environment and the adaptation of their mode of life to the open savanna country. Unlike the open *benabs* of the forest dwellers, the Arekuna and Macushi houses are solidly built, often huge structures with thick, wattled, and thatched walls and high, steeply-pitched, thatched roofs. The houses of the Arekunas are usually oval, round, or rectangular with rounded ends, while the Macushis prefer square or rectangular homes.

Both tribes are brown skinned, the Arekunas verging on the yellow, while the Macushis are a shade lighter than the Akawoias. Both tribes are better proportioned than the forest and river Indians, and both go nude with the exception of breechcloths for the men and bead queyus for the women. The features of the two tribes are, however, quite distinct. The Arekunas have well-bridged, straight, or slightly aquiline noses and straight eyes, whereas the Macushis have broad, rather flat noses and

oblique eyes. In their life, habits and many of their customs the two are somewhat similar, as are many of the other tribes dwelling in the savanna and forest areas of Venezuela, Brazil, and Guiana. Among these may be mentioned the Myangongs, a shy little-known, and rather primitive tribe in southern Venezuela and northern Brazil, and the Wai-wois, and their relatives, the Parakutos, of the Brazilian-Guiana border district.

It was these Indians who unquestionably gave Sir Walter Raleigh the foundation for his tales of the "Amazons." Among both tribes the men wear their hair long and confined in a queue, and in both the men are rather effeminate in features, whereas the women appear quite masculine and wear their hair bobbed. No doubt, seeing the long-haired, woman-ish-looking warriors, Raleigh mistook them for females. To-day the two tribes are confined to a small area and comprise but a few hundred members.

In color these Indians are distinctly yellow, and their features are often strikingly Caucasian. As a whole, they more nearly resemble the true Caribs than do any of the other tribes of the district and, like the Caribs, they use tufts of white down fastened to the hair above the forehead. In physique, too, they approach the true Caribs, being much taller and better proportioned than the Akawoias and other tribes.

Their houses are, however, quite distinct, being very large, often fifty to sixty feet in diameter and fifty feet in height, and are circular in form with a

conical, peaked roof whose eaves extend nearly to the ground.

They make excellent pottery, are master woodcarvers, weave coarse cloth and magnificent hammocks and baskets, and are by far the most expert and artistic featherworkers of all the tribes. During festivities, the men are almost hidden under feather ornaments. Their crowns are magnificent, with bobs trailing to the ground; feather ornaments are attached to upper arms and shoulders; feather tassels dangle from the ears; anklets and bracelets, as well as the breechcloths and belts, are decorated and fringed with feathers; feathers are inserted through the septum of the nose; and a feather labret hangs from the lower lip, for, like the Caribs, the Arekunas and the Macushis, these tribes pierce the lower lip.

Their weapons are immense, beautifully carved and decorated clubs, powerful bows and arrows, lances, javelins, and "pig stickers." They do not use the blowgun and poisoned darts, but use the deadly wurali to poison the long arrows used with their bows.

They are expert hunters, but also cultivate fields and gardens, and they are famed as the makers of the best cassava graters. These articles, which are in great demand by the other tribes and form the chief article of trade with the Wai-wois, consist of a slab of wood coated with a waxlike cement in which are imbedded sharp-pointed bits of hard stone. Great patience and skill are required to make these graters and to insert the bits of stone so that all will

project a uniform distance from the surface. The board, after being prepared, is dampened and warped until slightly convex, thus forcing the points of the stone from the cement which, after hardening, is water- and weather-proof. To one of these cassava graters British Guiana owes the discovery of its diamond fields. A scientist, examining such a grater to ascertain the identity of the stones used, discovered that some of them were diamonds.

Last of these supposedly Carib tribes to be mentioned are the Akurias of the little-known district of southern Surinam and British Guiana, and the Panos of the far distant valleys of the Amazon tributaries in Bolivia. Until visited by the author several years ago, the Akurias were unknown to ethnologists.

They are remarkable in many ways and in several respects are wholly distinct from all other known tribes. They are the smallest of all South American Indians I have met, almost pygmies in fact, the men averaging not over five feet in height, while the women are often less than four feet and a few inches. Their color is also most unusual, being a peculiar pinkish yellow, and scarcely darker than a Caucasian. Their eyes are straight, noses thin and well bridged, cheek bones not prominent, chins well developed, foreheads broad, lips thin. The men have well developed beards and mustaches when they allow them to grow.

The Akuria houses are much like those of the Waiwois, and within, they are divided by rows of posts into a number of compartments, each of which is occupied by a separate family. Although each

family and individual owns certain articles, such as weapons, cooking utensils, ornaments, hammocks, etc., yet the fields, food, houses, and many other things are owned in common.

As woodworkers the Akurias are experts, and their paddles and clubs are most elaborately carved. They make fair pottery, weave excellent hammocks, are good basket-makers, and are almost as skillful at featherwork as the Wai-wois and Parakutos. Like those of the true Caribs, the feather headdresses of the Akurias are fillets of cotton with the feathers standing upright instead of horizontally. Unlike any of the other neighboring tribes, they used broad collars or gorgets of feathers.

Their bows are shorter than those of other tribes but are very powerful, and their arrows are usually feathered. They do not use blowguns, and the wurali poison is unknown to the tribe.

Their dialect is very closely related to the Akawoia, but in every other respect they are totally different.

Separated from all the other supposedly Carib tribes by several thousand miles of forests, rivers, and jungles; inhabiting the tropical valleys of the Beni, Santa Cruz, Ucayali, and other tributaries of the Amazon whose sources are in the eastern slopes of the Andes, are the various closely related tribes known as the Panos. And yet, remote as these Indians are, and despite the fact that for an immense distance no tribes of Carib origin are known to exist, the Panos are distinctly Carib in appearance, customs, and dialect.

In color they are typically Carib yellow. Their features, with the strong aquiline or Semitic noses and thin lips, are Caribbean. Fully 50 per cent of the words in their dialects are unquestionably of Carib derivation. They are a well built, stalwart, fairly tall race, and are as valiant, proud, and as indomitable fighters as the true Caribs.

Their houses are square and much resemble those of the Caribs. Their weapons, consisting of heavy clubs, bows and arrows, are similar; but in addition the Panos have adopted the sling so widely used by the Andean tribes. They are expert potters, make fine baskets, have a good knowledge of textiles, are splendid woodworkers, and are extremely fond of feather decorations.

When in full dress the Pano is attired from head to knees in bird skins. Upon the head he wears a fillet to which are fastened the spread wings of the macaw; cured macaw or parrot skins form a mantle and a skirtlike garment; and feather ornaments, tassels, and decorations are everywhere. Like the true Caribs, the Pano women wear a one-piece garment hanging from the shoulders, this being made of bark cloth; and the men wear long shirts or smocks of bark cloth decorated with painted designs.

Next in numbers to the tribes of Carib stock are those classified as belonging to the Arowak race. Originally the Arowaks inhabited many of the West Indian islands, as well as the adjacent mainland; but to-day they are confined to the coastal districts and lower rivers of northern South America from

Brazil to Colombia. Being strictly river and coast Indians, the true Arowaks are never found far in the interior, although tribes supposed to be of Arowak blood occur far up the Amazon basin.

From time immemorial, the Arowaks and Caribs have been hereditary enemies, and, in the old days, the Arowaks occupied a very important place on the Caribs' menu. Nevertheless, the Caribs were not always the victors, for despite their peaceful, quiet, and gentle ways the Arowaks are stout and brave fighters when necessity arises.

In appearance the two tribes are very distinct. The Arowaks are a shorter, stockier, brown-skinned race with good-natured, stolid faces, and broad, rather flat noses and rather thick lips. Their eyes are often decidedly oblique and the men seldom have beards, though often wearing a thin straggling mustache. To-day, practically all of the true Arowaks have become civilized, for the race seems peculiarly quick to adopt the white man's ways. But, here and there, a few may be found who retain their ancestral customs and mode of life.

The Arowak house is well built, usually raised above the ground, walled with wattled cane and roofed with thatch, and is often divided into rooms by woven palm-leaf partitions. As a rule, the villages are placed on the summit of a bare sand hill where the glare and heat are terrific, but they are never far from water, for the true Arowak is almost amphibious and cannot exist far from the rivers or the seacoast.

They are noted for their industry, their thrift, and

honesty and are widely employed as laborers, especially as lumbermen, boatsmen, and as household servants. Although the Arowaks are fairly good hunters and are expert fishermen, yet they are primarily agriculturalists and maintain well-tilled and productive farms. They are noted as canoe-makers, and, alone of all the tribes, use double-bladed paddles.

Their pottery is crude. They make numerous articles of palm fiber, notably hammocks, but do not use cotton. They do not tattoo, and use paint but little, and are not particularly fond of ornaments or feathers. Their basketry is far inferior to that of the Caribs and other tribes, as are their bows and arrows, while their fish spears and harpoons are splendidly designed and made.

They do not use blowguns or poisoned darts, but employ many poisons for stupefying fish. After the poison is thrown into the water, the fish float to the surface helplessly. These are gathered up by hand and any not wanted are returned to the water where, in a short time, they recover and seem none the worse for their experience.

In temperament the Arowaks are gentle, good-natured, hospitable, anxious to please and are passionately fond of their children and of pets of all kinds.

In the days when the Caribs were cannibals and made frequent raids on the neighboring tribes, it was their custom to carry off the younger women and adopt them into the tribe. These captives, as explained in a preceding chapter, retained their own

native dialects and taught their language to their daughters. As a result, the use of dual dialects became common among the Caribs, the men using their own dialect, the women among themselves using another which the men could not as a rule understand (a method which might be followed to great advantage by our own womenfolk), while for ordinary purposes all spoke Carib.

Naturally, in time, many words of the distinct tongues came into general use and were embodied in the common language. As a result of this, it is now extremely difficult to determine whether a tribe is of Carib or Arowak stock or a mixture of the two, if dialect is taken as a guide, for in the languages of many tribes words of distinct Carib derivation and of equally certain Arowak origin occur in almost equal numbers.

Such is the case with the Wapisianas who inhabit the interior savannas far from the original Arowak district. In many ways the Wapisianas and their related and neighboring tribes resemble the Caribs and yet, in other respects, they are as strongly Arowak. Hence it is almost if not quite impossible to place many of the hundreds of forest tribes. In all probability, nearly all are a mixture of both racial stocks, together with blood of totally distinct tribes, many of which inhabit the vast, forest-covered interior of the southern continent.

Among these may be mentioned the Jivaros of the Putamayo, Javary, and other tributaries of the Amazon in Ecuador and Peru, and the Campas and Amuenshas of the Ucayali and neighboring valleys.

The Jivaros, in common with several other tribes, are chiefly noted for their custom of preserving and shrinking human heads as trophies. These heads, which are shrunk to the size of a baseball, always arouse a great deal of curiosity, and in the past, they found a ready sale as curios. So lucrative became the business in shrunken heads that the Indians, who normally confined their head-curing to the heads of their enemies, became quite careless in their discrimination and whenever they saw a promising head upon the shoulders of a stranger promptly added it to their collections. As a result, the governments of Ecuador and Peru were obliged to pass laws prohibiting the sale or possession of the heads. Nevertheless, a fair number of the rather gruesome trophies find their way out of the Jivaro country. Still more are sold which never saw a Jivaro Indian and which, for that matter, never topped a human being's neck. These are pure fakes, modeled from wax and covered with skin and hair, or even made from horse tails with the hairs shaved from a portion of the hide, the tail being molded into form over a clay or wax core.

The process by which the human heads, or for that matter entire bodies, are shrunken, is simple; but to most persons it seems very mysterious and remarkable.

The bones are first broken by pounding with a wooden club and are then removed through the opening in the neck. The head is then steeped in a tanning solution and is dried in smoke until thoroughly cured. As the skin shrinks and hardens the carti-

laginous portions of nose and other features retain their form to some extent, and the result is a hard, almost black, miniature head. But in nearly every case the features are distorted and bear little resemblance to those of life. Heads prepared as trophies always have the lips sewed together, the Indians believing that if this is not done the spirit will curse the head-taker. The hair on these prepared heads always appears very thick and long, for of course the hair does not shrink in proportion to the tissues.

Hands and feet, as well as the heads of sloths and other creatures, are preserved in the same manner. In the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in New York, are two entire bodies dried and shrunken to doll-like proportions. In these the incisions where the bones were removed are plainly visible. The bodies appear covered with an almost woolly growth of hair and the finger and toe nails seem almost clawlike, owing to the hair and nails retaining their natural size while the rest of the bodies have been reduced to a fraction of life size.

Among the Jivaros and their neighbors the shrunken head of an enemy takes the place of the scalp trophy of our North American Indians, and farther south among the Amuenshas and their kin, an enemy's rib is the prized souvenir of victory. These trophies are carved, polished, and used as ornaments on belts and other articles of apparel.

The Amuensha tribes, known collectively as Chunchos or wild Indians, are a brownish-yellow race with

narrow eyes, slightly oblique; high cheek bones; straight noses · and they are well built and proportioned.

Both sexes wear strange costumes of coarse native cotton cloth consisting of long, one-piece sleeveless gowns and a peaked hood, the whole so strikingly like the costume of a Franciscan monk that in all probability the Indians patterned their dress after that of the early Spanish priests. In addition to these clothes, the Chunchos use crowns of ornamental basketry with two or three upright feathers at the rear. Broad bands of black and white seeds are slung, bandolier fashion, across their shoulders; strings of beads, teeth, seeds, and bright-colored feathers and birds' skins are draped about their necks; and girdles of human and other bones are about their waists. Their faces are often almost entirely concealed under painted decorations, but they do not tattoo.

They are excellent basket-makers, good potters, fair woodworkers, and weave excellent cotton cloth. Much of their life is spent in hunting; but they are mainly agricultural. As a whole, they are quiet, peaceful, and well disposed towards strangers, although on several occasions they have, with good reason, risen in arms and have fought valiantly against the Peruvians and others, with dire results to their enemies.

Inhabiting the vast forests which cover a large portion of northern and central Brazil are innumerable tribes, many of which are unknown to white men, while others are but slightly known, and still others

have been carefully studied. Just what their relationships are has never been definitely established; but large numbers have been included in the so-called Tupi-Guarani race which extends southward into Paraguay and Uruguay, while others are referred to by the more or less general term of "Gessans."

Among the latter are the Botacudos or Bugres, very primitive Indians who use wooden-tipped arrows and stone clubs and live almost like beasts. Their huts are miserable affairs with openings barely large enough to crawl through, and are filthy and vermin infested. The Botacudos are short, badly proportioned, dark brown in color, and they add to their naturally repulsive appearance by pulling out their eyebrows and eyelashes and distorting their ears and lower lips by means of enormous disks of wood often several inches in diameter.

Among other tribes may be mentioned the Carajas and Cayapos who are noted for their magnificent and elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments, their finely executed wood carving on paddles and weapons, and their bead aprons or queyus worn by the women.

In these forests also dwell the much feared Mundurucus who preserve the heads of their enemies as trophies. These heads are soaked in oils and decoctions of herbs and are then cured in the smoke of fires. When prepared they are supplied with artificial eyes, are decorated with feathers, and have the tongues and lips sewed together and ornamented



Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

SHRUNKEN HUMAN HEADS, JIVARO INDIANS, ECUADOR



From paintings from life by the author

AMUENSHA INDIAN, PERU

AIMARA INDIAN, BOLIVIA

BOORABBI INDIAN, DANCE COSTUME, PANAMA

with streamers or tassels of string, probably to prevent the spirits of the heads from cursing their new owners.

Although many of these Brazilian tribes make fine pottery and are expert featherworkers and wear gorgeous and elaborate crowns and ornaments, others are ignorant of any arts and go absolutely nude. Some, also, are well advanced in culture, with established governments, large villages, and a complete social organization, while others are still in the stone age and are utter savages.

Among these are the Makus or Pogsas who are, in many respects, strangely like the Bogenahs of Panama and occupy an analogous position in relationship with the superior tribes about them.

The Makus are long headed with heavy projecting jaws, cunning animal-like eyes, and flat noses. In color they vary from a light yellow to almost black, and they are regarded with contempt by the surrounding tribes who look upon them as mere animals. These Makus have no villages and, like the Bogenahs, are wandering nomads, sleeping upon the ground, erecting flimsy leaf shelters, and subsisting upon any game, fish, lizard, bug, or other living creature which by any stretch of the imagination might be considered food.

Several authorities have expressed the opinion that these miserable savages are the remnants of the original prehistoric Americans who were largely destroyed or absorbed by more intelligent and powerful migrants from Asia, Europe, and elsewhere. If this is so, then, in all probability, the Bogenahs of

Panama are also survivors of this autochthonous race, and though separated by thousands of miles the Pogsas of Brazil and the Bogenahs of Panama may be closely related and of the same primitive stock. There is, indeed, a marvelous similarity in their physical characters, their habits, and even in their dialects, and, phonetically, Pogsa and Bogenah are enough alike to have been derived from the same word.

Finally, forming a sort of connecting link between the jungle dwellers and the Indians of the Pampas are the tribes inhabiting the Gran Chaco district of Paraguay bordering on southwestern Brazil and eastern Bolivia. These Indians are, as a rule, tall for South American aborigines, pale yellowish brown in color, and have well-formed, regular, and often pleasing features, many of the women being really handsome and as light as brunet Europeans.

Their bows are crude and, unlike those of most South American tribes, their arrows are short and well feathered. Their war clubs are long, slender, and almost swordlike, and are often fitted with prehistoric stone ax heads. They produce excellent textiles, make splendid pottery, and are remarkable for the great variety and beauty of their feather ornaments and headdresses. In many ways they appear to be related to the Quichua-Aimara races although their mode of life, their arts, customs, industries, and dialects are wholly distinct.

Oddly enough these Gran Chaco Indians play a game known as *Osiuta,* which is strikingly like the

lacrosse of our northern Indians. Although the rackets used are crudely made, yet their form is identical with those used in lacrosse. As far as is known, no similar game exists among the tribes between the United States and Paraguay.

CHAPTER XXIII

INDIANS OF THE ANDES AND PAMPAS

VERY different from our North American Indians or the tribes inhabiting the tropical jungles of Central and South America are the Indians of the Andean highlands. Here conditions of life—climate, terrain, vegetation, in fact every feature of environment—are totally distinct from those of our country or of the forest-covered section of South America. And here we find tribes which it is difficult to believe have anything in common with those of other portions of the New World.

Here, centuries before Columbus, the great Incan empire was founded and rose to its pinnacle only to be destroyed by the Spaniards. Here, untold ages before the first Inca saw the light of day, a still more ancient civilization flourished and disappeared, and here to-day dwell thousands of Indians, descendants of the Incas and pre-Incas who, despite four centuries of oppression, slavery, poverty, and hopelessness, have retained their tribal characteristics, their traditions, their dialects, their habits, and many of their ancient arts.

Broadly speaking, the bulk of the Andean tribes may be included in two great groups: the Quichuas and the Aimaras. These inhabit the Andes and the

trans-Andean highlands from Ecuador to Chile, and are most numerous in Peru and Bolivia. To be sure, there are several tribes in Ecuador and northern Peru which are not included in these groups. But even these came under the rule of the Incan empire, and were largely influenced by it, and hence, for all practical purposes, they may be considered together with the Peruvian and Bolivian Indians.

In Peru the great bulk of the Indian population is Quichua, whereas in Bolivia the Aimara predominate. In each case there are numerous subtribes which are so much alike that they are scarcely distinguishable, and are more names than realities, for the Inca régime strove to weld the whole Indian population into a common nation and to destroy intertribal distinctions. Nevertheless, in the olden days these subtribes were quite distinct and, originally, were probably separate tribes, each with its own physical and other characteristics. To a certain extent these characteristics have been inherited and perpetuated, so that to-day we find a great variation in the features and color of both the Quichuas and the Aimaras. And as the Incas encouraged trade, commerce, and industries by forcing each district or village to specialize in some certain art, so to-day we find the customs, industries, and arts varying greatly in neighboring districts.

As a race, the Quichuas are quiet, gentle, peaceful, almost timid, but hard working and industrious and able to endure the most terrific hardships and discomforts. In stature they are well above the average of South American Indians and are well

proportioned with exceedingly strong, sinewy lower limbs, as would be expected in a race of mountaineers. In color they vary from a light olive-yellow to a fairly dark cinnamon-brown and, living as they do at high altitudes, their cheeks are ruddy, often red as apples, and in the case of children appear ready to burst. In features they vary as greatly as in color. As a rule their features are well formed with straight, often aquiline noses, broad foreheads, firm chins, moderately high cheek bones, straight, well-opened eyes, and a peculiar sad, hopeless sort of expression. But very often they are of the so-called Inca type with extremely heavy and large beaklike noses.

All are civilized, and with few exceptions are, ostensibly at least, Christians. But their civilization is more that of the Incas than of the Europeans, although many of their garments have been patterned after those of the earlier Spaniards.

The most conspicuous and universal garment worn by the Indians is the poncho, which, whether woven of sheep or llama wool or of alpaca or the finest vicuña, serves as a blanket, an overcoat, and a raincoat, and is perhaps the most useful and convenient of all garments for use in the Andes. Aside from the poncho the Quichua man wears short trousers and a jacket of Indian homespun wool, a coarse woolen or cotton shirt, socks of heavy knitted wool, gauntletlike oversleeves of wool, moccasinlike sandals of rawhide, and a peaked woolen cap with ear flaps.

In some sections of the country no other head

covering is worn. Elsewhere a felt hat of Quichua make is worn over the cap, and about Cuzco the Indians wear a curious sort of hat typical of the region. This consists of a straw or felt disk with a hole in the center and it is covered on one side with some cheap cotton or woolen cloth and on the other with embroidered or decorated velvet. For ordinary occasions or in bad weather the hat is worn cheap side up, while in good weather or for holidays and *fiestas* it is reversed and the expensive side is uppermost.

No Quichua man's costume is complete without his sling and his coca pouch. The sling, made of braided llama wool, is used both for hunting and for driving llamas. When an Indian wishes to use his llamas or to round up his alpacas he does not have to climb the perpendicular mountain sides on which these animals graze. With a few stones and his sling the Quichua can drive the herds at a distance as readily as though he were beside them. With consummate skill he will hurl the stones beside or behind the animals, driving them this way or that, rounding up stragglers, and never by mistake striking one of the creatures.

He is equally skillful in using the Biblical weapon for bringing down wild game. With the sling the Andean Indian will knock over a running vicuña or a scurrying chinchilla, and he seldom makes use of any other weapon.

The coca pouch is even more important than the sling to the Andean Indian. Within this ornamental leather wallet he carries the dried coca leaves and

the bit of lime which are his food, drink, stimulant, and sustaining power on his long and arduous mountain journeys. By chewing coca the Indian resists hunger, thirst, and fatigue; and will go for incredible distances without food or rest. The leaf is masticated together with a bit of lime or ash, the alkali of the latter acting chemically upon the leaf and producing a small amount of cocaine. Although universally used by all Andean men, women, and children, the drug seems to have no ill effects and is never used as a narcotic.

The costume of the Quichua woman is as picturesque, as colorful, and as unsanitary as it is possible to imagine. The upper garment is a tight-fitting waist of the brightest colored woolen cloth over the sleeves of which are drawn long cuffs of intricately embroidered velvet. Over the shoulders is worn a bright colored, miniature poncho; a flaming decorated kerchief is knotted about the neck; and a stiff, heavy felt hat covers the head. From the waist hang countless petticoats reaching to the ankles, each of heavy wool and each of the most flaming colors. Never does the Andean Indian woman dream of removing a skirt for the purpose of having it cleaned. Once put on they remain until ready to drop apart, and as the undermost skirt is, from sheer necessity, discarded, another is added on the outside so that the total number remains constant.

In different sections and among different subtribes the costumes vary slightly, and the Cuzco women wear dark-colored embroidered overskirts

and blouses, with hats whose brims are fringed and decorated; but throughout the Andes the voluminous, multiple petticoats are universal.

When carrying a burden or a baby, the Quichua woman knots a strip of woolen cloth about her throat, and in the pouchlike folds at the back carries her load. How she can breathe as she toils at a dogtrot over the Andean trails with her entire burden supported by her throat is a mystery. So accustomed are the Indian women to this that they feel lost and uncomfortable without a load, and if there are no youngsters to be carried, which seldom happens, they will pick up a stone or log of wood and carry it.

The Quichua woman is the most industrious of females. No matter where she is or what she may be doing, whether walking, standing, sitting; whether trudging to market bending under a heavy burden, or homeward bound with her babies on her back; whether gossiping with a friend or squatted by her wares in the market place, she is constantly, endlessly, forever spinning wool into thread like an inexorable fate. We cannot wonder at this when we stop to realize that wool and its products, whether it be of the sheep, the llama, or the alpaca, are not only the most valuable but the most essential items in the Quichuas' lives. All their garments, their blankets, their ponchos, their saddle-bags, their pack saddles, their slings, their ropes, their bridles are woven on primitive looms from wool carded, cleaned, and spun by themselves. Their textiles are the most valuable and salable articles they produce. Mar-

velous are the results these Indians produce with the crudest of appliances. Mats, rugs, robes, scarfs, belts, cloth so finely woven that it seems incredible that it is made by hand; rugs as heavy, soft, and as artistically designed as any product of the Navajos; scarfs of vicuña as fine as silk and almost as soft; shawls of alpaca; and even entire carpets are produced by these mountain Indians and bring high prices in the shops and markets of the large cities. In addition to their textiles, the Quichuas make quantities of excellent pottery; wonderful rawhide bridles, reins, etc.; felt hats, shoes; woolen stockings, gloves, socks, and mittens; splendid carved woodenware; ornamental leather articles; fur robes and garments; dolls and toys; lace and embroidery; and many other articles.

Oddly enough, each article or class of article will be the product of one small village or district, and it is not unusual to find a village whose inhabitants are all engaged in weaving rugs while, close at hand, will be another village whose sole occupation is weaving ponchos. Often one village will produce woolen yarn while another not far away will be composed entirely of wool carders. In each case the people of one village will exchange its products for those of its neighbors.

This condition was brought about in the old Inca days, and it has resulted in an interchange of ideas, a commercial and tribal solidarity which otherwise could not have existed. If one community produced all necessary and essential articles, the race would have become broken up into innumerable cliques or

separate communities with no interchange of ideas and no progressiveness. But with each producing only certain articles, and being therefore compelled to depend upon others for the essentials they do not produce, trade and commerce and a mingling of the villagers have been brought about.

At the weekly markets the Indians from far and near gather, sometimes ten thousand Indians visiting a market at one time; and here goods are bartered, news and gossip are spread, ideas are exchanged, and a gloriously good time is had by all. Indeed, these weekly markets, and an occasional *fiesta,* are the only bright spots in the dull, monotonous, and dreary lives of these Andean Indians.

How they live as they do, undergoing the hardships to which they are constantly exposed, and still remain cheerful and happy is a mystery. Dwelling in the rarefied air of two to four miles above the sea, in a sterile, hard-bitten land swept by cold, ice-filled winds, subsisting on next to nothing, and compelled to toil unremittingly for the barest necessities of life, the very existence of these Indians is a constant struggle against terrific odds. Their homes are mere huts of stones or adobe, their beds llama skins, their fuel llama dung or the *yaretta* plant, and their principal food frozen potatoes.

Those who dwell in the Andean valleys are a trifle better off. There the earth can be tilled, by dint of Herculean labor, and wheat and other crops may be grown; the climate is not so inclement; there are plenty of eucalyptus trees for fuel and other pur-

poses; and such articles as the Indians produce may be taken to market without tramping for days over fearful mountain trails.

But wherever he may be, the Andean Indian's plight is pitiable. He is exploited and cheated at every turn; if employed in the mines or elsewhere he is paid a mere pittance and is cursed, kicked, and treated like a beast. He has no rights and can scarcely call his soul his own. Any passing stranger who wishes food or shelter may help himself to the Indian's stock, and, turning the Indian and his family out of doors, may take possession of his home. His women are violated, his goods stolen, his hard-earned money filched by merchants, politicians, prospectors, soldiers, priests, and every Tom, Dick, and Harry.

It is little wonder that the Indians wear that hopeless, pathetic expression on their faces. Yet they are neither sad nor hopeless. In his way, the Andean Indian enjoys life. He is intensely musical and for hours will play plaintive ancient Incan tunes upon his reed flute or *queña*. He loves pictures and has a highly developed sense of art, and he is passionately fond of his wife and his children. Seldom does he go to market that he does not bring back some present for his woman and his kiddies—a bit of bright ribbon, a cheap ring, a tiny mirror, or some other trifle.

But, by nature, by heritage, and through environment he has developed a peculiar taste for the sad and morbid. He will stand for hours, gazing at a picture of a battle, a fire, or the martyrdom of a

saint; and he will listen entranced to the saddest, most plaintive and heart-rending music.

He is neither cruel, treacherous, nor dishonest by nature, and he is inordinately attached to his live stock, especially his llamas. To these Indians, the llamas are the most important and essential of all things. Like the reindeer of the Laplander, they supply their owners with every need. They are the Indian's beasts of burden, their wool provides him with clothing, ponchos, rope, blankets, and cloth; their hides are his bed and his footwear; their meat is his only animal food; and their dung is his fuel. He regards them almost as members of his family, he treats them with care akin to veneration, and decorates their ears with bright ribbons and bells, and when one of the creatures dies he weeps and is inconsolable.

A very different type is the Aimara whose race was also of the Incan empire. Although living side by side, occupying the same territory and mingling amicably, yet the Quichuas and the Aimaras are as distinct in dialects, characteristics, temperament, and appearance as though separated by a continent. In Peru the Quichua race is predominant with few of the Aimara; whereas in Bolivia the Indian population is more Aimara than Quichua, and in many sections no Quichuas are to be found.

Unlike the docile, subservient Quichua, the Aimara is haughty, quick tempered, pugnacious, and ever ready to meet trouble halfway. He averages a trifle lighter in color than the Quichua, being more of a yellow than brown, his eyes are often

oblique, his cheek bones prominent, his nose aquiline, and his lips thin and often cruel. Like the Quichua he is stockily and powerfully built with muscular legs adapted to mountaineering; he is a marvel of endurance; and he is as inveterate a coca chewer as his Quichua neighbor.

There is a vast difference in the expressions on the faces of the two tribes. The Aimaras' faces are proud, cold, even contemptuous; but through a heritage of oppression, slavery, and tyranny they have become subdued and submit to almost as many abuses and discriminations as their Quichua neighbors.

As they predominate in numbers in Bolivia, and are the mainstay of the republic, they are far better off than the Peruvian Indians. Like the Quichuas, they are clever artisans and produce an unlimited variety of magnificent textiles; they are excellent potters, skilled metal-workers, splendid basket makers, expert wood-carvers, good agriculturalists, hard-working and industrious laborers, and are born musicians.

Like the Quichuas, too, they are specialists, and each village or town will be noted for some particular art or product. But whereas the Quichuas dwell in tiny Indian villages or scattered houses, the Aimaras have large, populous, and well-built towns, for, as I have said, fully 90 per cent of the inhabitants of Bolivia are Indians and such towns as Cochabama, Oruro, and even the capital, La Paz, are largely Indian. Consequently the Aimara race is represented in every walk in life. Politicians,

high officials, doctors, lawyers, priests, generals, tradesmen, laborers, and servants may be found among their ranks.

Tribal distinctions are more closely drawn among the Aimaras than among the Quichuas and while, in many ways, the Aimaras have adopted more of the European ways and civilization, yet their tribal customs and traditions are better preserved than among the Quichuas. Like the latter, the men wear the inevitable poncho and heavy woolen garments, while the women wear the same innumerable filthy petticoats and carry their burdens and their babies as do the Quichua women. But their *fiesta* costumes are glorious and wonderful; feather crowns and headdresses are used, their dance costumes are marvelous with their wealth of embroidery and silver decorations, and their dance masks are most grotesque and horrible, typically Indian and wonderfully well made.

Like those of the Coclés of Panama, the Aimara and also the Quichua dances and ceremonials have been combined with feast days of the Roman Catholic Church, and there is a strange commingling of Christian and pagan ceremonies, costumes, and pageantry at these *fiestas*. But the truly Indian devil dance is the predominating feature.

Unlike the Quichua, who is fully satisfied if he possesses a serviceable and preferably bright colored poncho while his wife boasts a dozen or more dirty skirts and a gaudy manta, the Aimaras, and especially the women, are fond of fine raiment. A high-class Cholo girl on a Sunday or holiday is attired in a

manner that would make Solomon turn in his grave with envy and which represents her savings for many months. Upon her head she wears a shining glazed hat which is a cross between a derby and a trench helmet; her shoes, of the finest leather and highly ornamented with fancy stitching, reach almost to her knees; her skirt and waist are of rainbow hues; and she carries a man-sized burden in the shape of gold and silver chains, ornaments, and jingling coins.

The *fiesta* attire of the Aimara man is as magnificent and as costly as that of his mate. His lower limbs are encased in short trousers completely covered with embroidery in silver plates and tinsel; his shoes are adorned with silver buckles, his coat is heavy with bullion; his poncho is a priceless work of art; and his head piece is adorned with nodding plumes and silver ornaments.

Indeed, the Aimara appears to live and labor for the sole purpose of dressing. He is not fastidious about his food and subsists on the coarsest fare, and his home as a rule is absolutely bare of all the luxuries and most of the necessities of life. No matter how poverty-stricken he appears to be, no matter how he may toil and endure and suffer, yet somehow, when occasion arises, he will manage to emerge from his poverty and squalor like a butterfly from its chrysalis in all the glory and richness of barbaric splendor.

In addition to the Quichuas and Aimaras, the Andean Indians of Bolivia comprise another and quite distinct race consisting of several tribes known collectively as the Yungas. The Yungas dwell in the

region east of La Paz and Lake Titicaca, a trans-Andean plateau with a milder climate and better soil than the mountainous regions, and the district which produces the bulk of the coca leaves.

In color the Yungas are copper-brown with a reddish cast. Their heads are large, their jaws prominent, their foreheads narrow, their noses rather flat, and their eyes oblique. They are a short, stocky, race far more primitive than the Quichuas or Aimaras and are by no means as cowed, subservient, or oppressed as these others.

Although excellent as laborers yet they prefer to be independent and have their own villages, fields, and farms, their own chiefs and tribal organizations, and retain nearly all their ancestral traits, customs, and habits. They use bows and arrows, slings and clubs, and have the reputation of being rather warlike and valiant fighters. They are excellent potters and woodworkers and are, like all the Andean tribes, experts at weaving textiles. Their ponchos are particularly fine and of the most intricate and colorful patterns, and much of their homespun cloth might be mistaken for the best of English tweeds.

Although they frequently visit La Paz and other cities, they are seldom seen singly, but move about in groups of five to a dozen individuals, each group in charge of a chief or subchief. They trot along in single file to stop, now and again, and gaze at some new and to them astonishing object or sight while the chief in charge gives a brief lecture or explanation. As these chiefs are supposed to know every-

thing and it would never do to be at a loss, they are often in a tight place when they encounter some entirely new thing. But as they are ready witted, and as their fellows will believe anything they say, they are seldom stumped for an answer.

On one occasion I saw a group of Yungas gazing half fearfully at the first automobile they had ever seen. To them there was nothing very remarkable in the machine for, like nearly all Indians, they feel that the white man can make anything; but the motive power was a puzzle and their leader was called upon to explain what made it go. The chief had never before seen an automobile and was as ignorant of the mechanism as his fellows; but he did not hesitate and replied instantly that the white men had a devil chained inside the car. The Indians were perfectly satisfied, for to them an enslaved devil was a far more plausible and comprehensible thing than an engine.

Leaving the bleak and snow-clad heights of the Andes and going farther south, we find Indians of a very different type who are an ethnological puzzle and remind us in many ways of our plains Indians. These are the so-called Araucanians of Chile and the Argentine, a race made famous in song and story, and about which a vast amount of misinformation has been circulated.

Indeed, the term Araucanian is a misnomer, for strictly speaking, there is no such race or tribe as the Araucanian. The name was coined by the Spanish poet, Ercilla, who in his epic poem, "La Araucana" (The Araucanian), perpetuated the victory of the



Photographs by the author

WOODEN FETISHES OR PROXIES, PANAMA INDIANS

QUICHUA INDIANS, CUZCO, PERU



From paintings from life by the author

TUPI-TOWALI WOMAN, PANAMA
MAPUCHE WOMAN, CHILE

QUICHUA WOMAN, PERU
MAPUCHE MAN, CHILE

Chilean Indians over the Spaniards under Valdivia, and for the sake of rhythm applied the name of a district to its inhabitants.

The Indians themselves never refer to their race or tribes as Araucanians, and neither do the Chileans, but instead use the terms Mapuches, Pehuenches, Huilliches, Tuelches, etc., according to the tribe referred to. Neither must we confuse these so-called Araucanians with the Indians of southernmost Chile and Tierra del Fuego—the Onas, Yahgans, etc., who are a far inferior people of entirely distinct characters, customs, dialect, and racial stock, although in Patagonia there has been so much intermingling of tribes that the characteristics have become mixed and confused.

The true Indian of Tierra del Fuego and the adjacent coast is a dark-skinned, large-mouthed, thick-lipped, flat-nosed, and most inferior and primitive being, possessing a few arts and no approach to a culture or civilization. A naked, miserable savage, subsisting on fish and molluscs, clothing himself in the skins of wild animals, using arrows with tips of chipped stone or glass and spears and harpoons of bone, and sheltering himself against sleet, snow and biting winds by a tiny, kennel-like hovel of branches and leaves.

The Tuelche of Patagonia is a far superior man. He is tall, well built, intelligent, and proud, a splendid hunter, and has developed many arts and crafts. But he is still far behind the more northerly Mapuches in every respect.

Of all the South American tribes the Mapuches of

central and southern Chile and the Argentine are by far the most progressive, the most self-reliant, the most industrious, and the most independent. Never have they been conquered or subdued and, time and time again, they have shown themselves the superiors of the trained soldiers of Europe. These are the Indians who have become famed as the Araucanians and who to-day number nearly a quarter of a million and still live their ancestral lives on their ancestral lands.

In appearance many of the Mapuches are indistinguishable from Caucasians, and all are strikingly distinct from any other South American tribe. They are a dark olive or yellowish in color with a slightly ruddy tint, and have pink cheeks. Their faces are oval, their cheek bones neither prominent nor unusually high, their foreheads broad and high, their eyes full, intelligent, and straight, their noses large, well bridged, and straight or slightly aquiline, their chins firm. The men have beards and mustaches which are nowadays allowed to grow, although in former times they were carefully shaved off and no hair was permitted to appear on the faces or bodies of men or women. In stature the Mapuches are well above the average South American Indian and many of the men are six feet in height and are magnificently proportioned. The expression is intelligent, good-natured, and dignified. Many of the younger women and girls are strikingly pretty. Primarily the Mapuches are an agricultural race and cultivate large areas of wheat and other crops and own hundreds of thousands of sheep, cattle, and horses.

They are essentially horse Indians and magnificent horsemen, although to-day many own automobiles and till their fields with motor tractors in place of plodding oxen.

Although still adhering to their primitive tribal customs, life, and habits in many ways, yet the Mapuches are thoroughly up to date in other respects. Many of their young men are graduates of colleges in Europe and the United States, all speak Spanish, and some English as well. They have taken advantage of innumerable luxuries and labor-saving devices of civilization.

Although the majority of the tribe still dwell in the typical Mapuche houses or *rukas* of brush and thatch, a great many have erected well-built frame houses with galvanized iron roofs. But whether the Mapuche home is a ruka of brush or a modern house, the interior is much the same. Upon the earthen floor are the smoldering fires, for several related families usually occupy one dwelling. From smoke-blackened beams and rafters hang finely woven baskets; rawhide bags; pouches made from the skin of colt or calf's heads; potlike containers formed from the skin of cows' udders with the teats serving as legs; heads of wheat; bunches of corn; bundles of herbs; rawhide lariats, bolas, and bridles; silver-mounted saddles; and other household utensils.

Along the sides of the house are the low beds or couches covered with soft, heavy blankets, *chupinas* or rugs, and soft skins of vicuña and guanaco. Resting against a wall or standing upright in the floor are the long bamboo-shafted Mapuche lances, and hung

to pegs are the gleaming silver ornaments of the women. Low stools of carved wood are about the floor; ponchos, scarfs, and other articles of apparel are scattered about; and most prominent of all, and occupying a large portion of the interior of the dwelling, is a huge primitive loom at which a woman sits forever weaving the dyed woolen yarns into wonderful blankets, ponchos, and rugs.

The Mapuche textiles are one of their most important products. Not only do their rugs, blankets, and ponchos find a ready sale, a good poncho often bringing thirty dollars or more; but in addition, every garment and article of apparel is hand woven by the Mapuche women.

The costume of the Mapuche man consists of a coarse woolen shirt or blouse, a broad strip of woolen cloth drawn about the legs so as to form the original *gaucho* trousers; a broad, silver-studded belt or a woolen sash; rawhide sandals, and a poncho. Upon the head a square of bright-colored silk or wool is worn turbanwise, or a soft felt hat may be used.

The woman's costume is quite distinctive and most becoming. The upper portion of the body is covered with a finely woven strip of cloth so worn as to form a tight waist leaving the arms bare to the shoulders. Another square of cloth, tasseled at the corners and often bordered with a woven ornamental design, is wrapped about the waist and forms a close-fitting skirt reaching to the ankles. Over the shoulders is thrown a beautiful soft shawl of finest wool or guanaco hair.

Holding the blouse in place over the breast are

enormous silver pins with huge, intricately fashioned heads; about the throat is a silver band or collar; the hair is bound by a leather fillet studded with silver; immense silver earrings hang from the ears, and covering the chest is a wonderfully wrought silver pendant often weighing several pounds.

As silver-workers the Mapuches are unequaled among Indians, and the only tribe comparable to them in this art are our Navajos. Practically all their spare money, and a great deal which they cannot spare, is transformed into ornaments for their women, silver mountings for bridles, stirrups, and saddles, silver spurs, and other articles of the precious metal. The value, in bullion alone, of the ornaments owned by a Mapuche woman will often run into thousands of dollars, and many a Mapuche belle possesses more silver jewelry than she could possibly carry at one time.

The Mapuches also make excellent pottery, beautiful baskets, and elaborate beadwork, and they are experts at wood-carving, at rawhide and horsehair work. From the latter material they fashion bracelets and rings of intricate patterns so fine that the weaving is almost invisible. Their weapons are bows and arrows, long, bamboo-shafted, steel-headed lances, lassos, and bolas. They are marvelously skillful with the latter and use it in hunting the guanaco, the South American ostrich, and other game.

The Mapuche villages consist of from two to a dozen or more houses, often quite widely separated, and inclosed by brush fences. In every village, and

often near every house, is a heavy timber from eight to twelve feet in length and set upright at a slight angle in the earth. On one side a series of notches are cut for steps and very often it is carved into a rude human figure. Beside this are fastened dead saplings, and hung to the branches of these, are ribbons, bits of cloth, utensils, small pottery vessels, etc.

These are the *machi* or medicine posts or Mapuche altars where offerings are made to the Indians' gods who are supposed to speak through the medium of the machi or medicine man. But, strangely enough, the medicine man of the Mapuches is almost always a woman. Among these Indians the machi holds a most peculiar position. Although she must not marry, she may have children, and quite often one of these medicine women will be seen industriously weaving a poncho or rug in her ruka and surrounded by a brood of youngsters. As innumerable presents and contributions are made to her, aside from those which she demands or receives in payment for her services, she is usually well off and has no trouble in supporting her offspring in Mapuche luxury.

At ordinary times she is not regarded with any particular respect or superstition, although she has no little power in councils and similar matters. Her duties are primarily those of a doctor and midwife, and as these machis possess a good knowledge of medicinal herbs, and are expert osteopaths and chiropractors, their treatments are usually successful and quite often they effect truly remarkable cures. In-

deed, they are often called upon by the white inhabitants of the country in times of necessity.

In connection with their practices they use a great deal of the hocus-pocus and ostensibly supernatural and magical which are so dear to the Indian. Chief among these are the use of the machi pipe or medicine pipe and its smoke; trances and visions; and the machis' supposed power of being able to see and converse with spirits.

Like many of our northern Indians, the Mapuches regard many animals and inanimate objects as sacred or the abiding places of spirits. Whenever a Mapuche kills a creature which is supposedly the temporary abode of a spirit, he makes prayers and offerings and apologizes for the deed in order to placate the spirit. His most sacred object is the algorrobo tree. No Mapuche may cut, injure or destroy these trees except for some sacred, religious, or ceremonial purpose, and even then the act is carried out with ceremonies and offerings.

The dead are buried in troughlike coffins of the sacred wood and the body is surrounded by the weapons, utensils, ornaments, and other possessions of the deceased, together with his favorite horse and dog and a supply of food and drink. Over the grave is erected a wooden monument which may be carved to represent a human figure, a bird, or beast, or some conventional design. Very often these are in the form of crosses, which have no connection with the emblem of Christianity and were in use by these Indians ages before the first Europeans entered Chile.

When the Spanish priests first met the Mapuches and found the crosses over the Indians' graves, they were in a quandary. Although the monuments were those of pagans, yet they were also the symbols of the Christian faith, and hence, to destroy them, would, the padres felt, be sacrilege. Finally the matter was settled by the priests' blessing the Mapuche crosses and sprinkling them with holy water, and every one was satisfied.

In their home and tribal life the Mapuches are rather patriarchal. Each tiny settlement or village has its head man or local governor, who is usually the oldest member of the community. Over these is a chief who administers the laws and affairs of a considerable district, while over all is the head chief or cacique of the tribe. The various chiefs, however, have little power in the case of really important matters. All such are settled by council and vote, and even the village patriarchs seldom make a decision of importance without consulting the villagers and the local machi, and discussing the matter at length.

The Mapuches are noted for their honesty and morality, and a Mapuche's word is considered as good as his bond by the Chilean money-lenders and merchants, who will lend any sum within reason to a Mapuche on the Indian's verbal promise and statement as to the value of his crops or herds. In temperament they are good-natured, light-hearted, hospitable, and possess a keen sense of humor.

On one occasion I was traveling through the Indian country in a battered Ford, and noticing a

stout, elderly Indian tending a flock of sheep, I stopped and inquired the way to the house of a chief whom I wished to see. The old fellow called a boy to look after his flock, and crowding his bulk into the seat beside the chauffeur, stated he would show the driver the road. He had never before been in a motor car and shouted and urged the car on, lashing its sides with his whip as he would a horse.

As we neared the village, the chauffeur slowed down and stopped as he saw a good-sized log across the trail. This was not at all to the Indian's liking, and he stated contemptuously that "even a colt could jump that log." The Chilean driver was not to be scoffed at by any Mapuche, and stepping on the gas, he rushed the car at the log and hurdled it, greatly to the Indian's delight.

Arriving at last at the ruka we sought, which proved to be the home of our corpulent passenger who was in fact the chief himself, the old fellow extricated himself from the narrow seat and carefully examined the battered machine from end to end, feeling of its sides and wheels, patting its dented mudguards, and peering into the radiator much as he would examine a horse. "Now I suppose you'll get an automobile," I remarked.

The chief shook his head. "No," he replied. "Such things are good for the white man but not for the Mapuches. A horse eats the grass which grows everywhere and if he breaks a leg there is always a colt to take his place. But this thing has no colts, and even the white man has not yet learned to plant the gasoline and make it grow."

It cannot be said that the Mapuches are musical. A few have phonographs, and I have seen one or two Mapuche houses equipped with radio antennæ. Their native music consists of monotonous rhythms played on drums and flutes. These rhythms serve merely to beat time for the ceremonial chants and dances, which are neither as frequent nor as impressive as those of most Indians.

In their ceremonial dances the Mapuches use masks, crudely made of wood or even of turtle shells pierced with holes for eyes, nose, and mouth, the object of the masks being to prevent lurking evil spirits from recognizing the dancers and entering them. The dances are slow, dignified, and orderly, with none of the shouting, excitement, and savage accompaniments usually associated with Indian dances.

But what the Mapuches lack in the way of dances is more than offset by their variety of games. One of the most popular of these is a form of the old ring around a rosy, and another is very similar to our old-fashioned come away. There are also innumerable games, often used for gambling, in which round pebbles or clay balls are dropped into holes in a wooden tablet or through rings. Games similar to our marbles are played, as well as jackstones.

The truly national game is the *chueca*. This game, which is the original of our hockey or shinny, was played by the Indians long before the advent of the white men and was copied from the Indians and later introduced into Europe. It is known to practically every North American tribe, but does not appear to

be known to the tribes of Mexico, Central, or northern South America. But here, among the Mapuches of southern Chile, the old familiar shinny bobs up once more, and, under the Indian name of chueca, is played exactly as it has been played by white boys for generations.

Like all Indians, the Mapuches are fond of folklore, and are rich in legends and myths. Several of their stories are strikingly similar to those of our North American tribes. Thus, the story of the origin of the bolas, is, in its main features, almost identical with the Kwakiutl story of the sword (Chapter XX).

According to the Mapuche legend, the first Indian was constantly harassed by a gigantic puma who was possessed of a most malignant and clever devil. When the Indian went to the river to drink, the puma lurked near and sprang at him. If he hunted and killed game the puma always seized the creature and devoured it, and wherever the Indian went the puma followed him relentlessly and sought to destroy him. Many times the Indian tried to hunt down and kill his enemy, but the puma was too wise and would never enter a trap and would never let the Indian come within striking distance with his club or his lance.

Finally the Indian was forced to seek refuge on a steep hill where he could keep a sharp lookout on every side. He dared not sleep, and he sat there, unable to secure food or water and awaiting death by starvation or the devil-infested creature.

Suddenly there was a terrific noise, smoke and

fire burst from the hillside, and a fissure opened in the rock. From this opening came forth an *algorrobo* tree, and a voice spoke telling the Indian to plant seeds from the tree and he would never want for food. But the Mapuche saw no use in having food as long as his enemy the puma lived, and so he remained silent and motionless.

Then the voice spoke again and said that if the Mapuche made a club of the branch of the tree he could kill the puma. But the Indian knew he could never get near enough to the beast to use the club, so he paid no heed.

Finally the voice said that if he would make medicine to the tree and would never injure it nor permit his people to injure it he would be shown a way to destroy his enemy. So the Mapuche made medicine to the tree and promised to hold it sacred, and a bolas was given him by the tree spirit.

So he took the bolas and made a club of the tree branch, and gathered the seeds, and went down from the hill to meet the puma. The puma, seeing the Indian armed with the club, kept out of reach of the weapon, but the Indian whirled the bolas and threw it. The bolas entangled the puma so he could not run, and the Mapuche killed him with his magic club and made an offering of the puma's skin to the algorrobo tree.

Then he planted the magic seeds, and from these grew crops which never failed and which have always provided the Mapuches with food, and to this day the Mapuches use the bolas and hold the algorrobo sacred. Perhaps the Mapuches are related to

our North American Indians. Possibly, countless ages ago, their ancestors dwelt in North America, and, for some reason, wandered southward. Through years they may have slowly migrated through Mexico and Central America, fighting their way through hostile tribes, facing the perils of tropical jungles and deserts, finding no suitable spot wherein to settle down, until at last, in the far south, they came upon a land much like that they had left and, weary with moving, barred from further progress by the limits of the continent, they settled down and founded a new race though still retaining many of their customs, arts, and traditions.

Unquestionably the Mapuches were immigrants and archæologically speaking, comparatively late arrivals in Chile. The prehistoric denizens of the land were of a very different race, were perhaps the ancestors of the Fuegians, who were driven out and destroyed by the superior Mapuches. But whether the latter are of North American origin, whether they came from somewhere in South America, or whether their ancestors came overseas from the Old World no one can say.

But regardless of their origin, their ancestry, or their racial relationship the Mapuches are beyond question the most admirable of South American tribes, a valiant, proud, progressive, and intelligent people, and as nearly approaching the "noble redman" as any Indians in the whole of America.

CHAPTER XXIV

INDIAN WARS AND WARRIORS

ALMOST from the very first there have been conflicts between the Indians and the white men. This, however, is not surprising, for from the discovery of America to the present day, the white man has robbed the Indians of their lands, their homes, and their rights. He has violated the Indians' women, has destroyed his fields and his game, has tortured and murdered Indians in cold blood, has enslaved and debased them, and has violated every promise, treaty, and pledge. And, in addition, the white men have, in most instances, been the aggressors, and have started the Indian wars which have been so disastrous and bloody to both sides.

Although Columbus was hospitably treated by the Indians of the West Indies, he reciprocated by taking captives and hostages, separating them from homes and families and carrying them overseas to Spain, where they pined away and died. When the *Santa Maria* was wrecked on the Haitian coast, the Indians, who might far better have killed the Dons then and there, befriended the shipwrecked mariners and helped salvage all that was possible from the doomed caravel and they aided the Spaniards in

building a fort. When the first settlers were left on the island by Columbus, the Indians remained friendly until the Dons, by their excesses and cruelties, exhausted the Indians' patience and met with a just retribution.

When later, Columbus established the city of La Natividad on Santo Domingo, the Indians stood by the Dons and sacrificed their own lives and tribal integrity in the white men's defense when hostiles, aroused by the Spaniards' beastly acts, swept down upon the settlement. Yet, a few years later, Columbus and his men made holidays of Indian massacres, and treacherously summoning the Indians, had them torn to pieces by their dogs as the Dons looked on and applauded the sport.

Everywhere the Spaniards went they enslaved the Indians and showed them no mercy. Pizarro utterly destroyed the vast Incan empire and most despicably betrayed the trust of Atahualpa, who had been his friend, and had the Inca put to ignominious death.

Cortez did as much or more in Mexico and wiped out the Aztecs and murdered Montezuma.

And everywhere, British, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and later, Americans treated the aborigines in the same manner. No doubt, certain conflicts and Indian wars were inevitable. No doubt, as many argue, the pathway of civilization and human progress had to be blazed, and the primitive Indians were fated to fall victims to the onward march of civilization. But surely the majority of the long series of Indian wars and massacres could

have been avoided had the Europeans and Americans treated the Indians like fellow human beings, had they discriminated between friends and foes, or had they accorded the same treatment to Indian foes and prisoners that they would have accorded their enemies of white blood.

From the beginning, the white men have been prating of Indian savagery, of Indian treachery and cruelty, and have tried to exonerate themselves and salve their consciences by declaring the Indians could not be dealt with along the rules of civilized warfare. We conveniently forget that when it came to a war between French and English, between Spanish and English, between British and Colonials, each side enlisted Indian allies and encouraged them to attack, kill, torture, and scalp their fellow Europeans. With unfair and prejudiced minds, we forget to mention the innumerable treaties which we made with the Indians, and which, on the slightest pretext or for no pretext at all, we treated as mere scraps of paper. And we are prone to overlook and forget that even when we had subdued the Indians, had robbed them of everything and had herded them on reservations, we allowed corrupt politicians, adventurers, settlers, and criminals to exploit, kill, rape, debase, and rob the Indians.

What they did not know of treachery, cruelty and crime the white men taught them, and the Indians proved apt pupils. It is not at all surprising that eventually even traditionally friendly and peaceful tribes looked upon the white men as enemies and fought against them, for even the worm will turn

and no Indian could ever be considered in the category of worms.

No, the most amazing thing is that despite everything certain tribes remained the white settlers' friends to the very end, although if the truth must be told, this attitude was often a purely selfish one and the friendly tribes were such, not because of any love of the whites but because, as the white men's allies, they could even scores with traditional Indian enemies.

Regardless of why some tribes were ever friendly, the fact remains that they were and, more's the pity, they received little consideration for their attitude. Although the Mohicans have been famed in song and story as steadfast allies of the pioneers, and the name of Uncas will live on forever as the white man's friend, yet we had no compunctions about packing the Delawares and the Mohicans off to reservations and stealing their ancestral lands.

Much, too, has been said and written of Indian cruelties and tortures. But all primitive races are, from our point of view, cruel; and torture, until comparatively recent times, was a recognized and perfectly legitimate accessory of war and a common form of punishment among European nations.

Even our Puritan ancestors resorted to tortures for trivial offenses, and no tortures ever devised by the Indians could excel or equal those used by the Spaniard and practiced on the Indians. Because an Indian who had been forcibly compelled to act as a guide for the Spaniards tried to escape rather than betray his people, he was torn limb from limb by

horses tied to his hands and feet. Because an Indian resented a drunken Spaniard's making free with his women, Valdivia herded hundreds of men, women, and children into a building, and setting fire to it, roasted them alive. And for an even more trivial cause, Valdivia caused several hundred Indians to have their hands and ears lopped off and their eyes burned out.

In the West Indies, both the French and British tortured, maimed, and mutilated the Indians without mercy or hesitation. Our own forbears thought nothing of doing the same. When all is said and done there was not much to choose between the earlier whites and the Indians on this score.

Moreover, we must not forget that to the Indians torture was akin to a ceremonial. Among many tribes the torture of a prisoner was more in the nature of an honor than a punishment, and a captive, killed without being tortured, would have felt that he was being insulted and slighted by not being permitted to exhibit his bravery and fortitude before his enemies. Nor should we condemn all Indians for the faults of a few. Many tribes never tortured their prisoners, especially those of European blood, and there are countless historical records of white prisoners being treated with every honor and consideration by their Indian captors.

No matter how anti-Indian we may be, or what other faults and shortcomings the Indians may have had, even the most prejudiced cannot overlook the fact that almost without exception the Indians were brave and valiant foes as well as allies. Regardless

of the right or wrong of Indian wars or Indian methods, even those who fought most relentlessly against the hostiles have been compelled to recognize the outstanding bravery, nobility, and magnanimity of many Indian chiefs and warriors.

The betrayed and dying Atahualpa will ever remain a far more impressive and human figure than the avaricious, treacherous Pizarro who could not even be stomached by his fellow countrymen and met just retribution by an assassin's hand. Montezuma, proud, dignified, fighting a forlorn and hopeless battle for his people and his empire, stands out in history as a far nobler, more heroic being than the utterly unprincipled and underhanded Cortez. Such names as Powhatan, Uncas, Black Hawk, Massasoit, Red Jacket, Tecumseh, Osceola, Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, Gall, Chief Joseph, Rain-in-the-face, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and scores of others will go down in history as familiar and as famous as the names of historic characters of our own race.

That the Indians should have been so easily destroyed; that in the space of a few generations, teeming thousands of brave and warlike Indians should have been conquered, subdued, and destroyed by the white men; that a mere handful of pioneers could not only survive but could drive off, kill, or subdue many times their number of Indians—these things are often a cause of wonder. But, as a matter of fact, there was nothing remarkable about it and the result was exactly what might have been expected. For a long time the Indians regarded the white men as superior beings and, as such, feared

to molest them no matter how great the provocation. For still longer they believed the Europeans to be immortal and hence it was hopeless to struggle against them.

And from the very beginning the white invaders had the overwhelming advantage of armor, firearms, steel weapons, and horses. Indian arrows, axes, and spears now and then penetrated the bucklers and chain mail of the Europeans, but by far the greater number of missiles rattled harmlessly from the Europeans' armor. In addition to the havoc of bullets and swords, the whites had the terrifying explosions of muskets, pistols, and cannon which to the Indians were supernatural manifestations.

Moreover, it was seldom indeed that a large body of Indians attacked the Europeans at one time. Occasionally several tribes would join forces in a united attempt to stay the onward march of their enemies, but as a rule, Spaniards, French, British, and others met comparatively small and detached groups of Indians who were easily defeated and whose survivors carried exaggerated tales of the white men's prowess and invincibility to their friends, and thus created an entirely unwarranted fear of the invaders.

In many places, too, as in New England and Virginia, there were not many Indians opposed to the settlers.

According to Captain John Smith, the total fighting forces of the Powhatan Confederacy did not exceed three hundred men. In few portions of our eastern states were there more than a few hundred

warriors, and these were often of diverse and antagonistic tribes, scattered over a considerable area of country.

Armed as they were with no weapons but tomahawks, clubs, and bows and arrows, these Indians could not attack the settlers except at close quarters, whereas the whites could shoot an Indian many bowshots away. Only by sudden and concerted raids could the Indians hope to destroy the forts, houses, and settlements, and when they attempted such raids the loss to the Indians was usually far greater than to the whites, even if the former were ultimately the victors.

In other cases, as in Peru, the Europeans found their task easy merely by chance, owing to dissensions and strife among the tribes. Pizarro would have had a far harder row to hoe, and a totally different story of the conquest of Peru would have been written, had he found the Incas a few years earlier. At the time of his arrival on the scene, the Incan empire was in the throes of civil war and the Spaniards, taking advantage of this and playing one party against another by false promises and lies, found it an easy task to destroy the vast empire.

Much was accomplished by stirring up intertribal ill feelings and setting one tribe to war on another until, like the famous Kilkenny cats, both tribes were destroyed or decimated. In our western campaigns this was particularly the case, although the same had been done with marked success in the east, and much of the success subduing the hostile plains

Indians was due to the coöperation of friendly tribes and Indian scouts.

Of course, very soon after the arrival of the Europeans, the Indians learned to use firearms, metal weapons, and horses. But these were not easily obtainable and it took many years for the Indians to become even passably supplied with weapons capable of coping with the white men. Even in our latest western campaigns, many of the Indians were without firearms, and fought with bows, arrows, clubs, and stone skull-crackers. And finally, as I have said before, liquor, disease, immorality, and the effects of civilization killed far more Indians than swords or bullets.

The wonder is, not that the Indians were so soon subdued, but that any survived, and still more amazing is the fact that not a few tribes succeeded in holding their own, resisting all comers, fighting the trained troops of the Europeans to a victorious finish, and remaining to this day, unconquered, independent, and probably as numerous as ever. Sometimes this was due to the inaccessible retreats of the Indians, at other times it was due to their remoteness from civilization and a base of supplies, and sometimes it was due to the Europeans deciding that the game was not worth the candle, so to speak.

But in many cases it was due entirely to the valiant fighting ability and superb organization and military strategy of the Indians. In Chile, the Mapuches completely outgeneraled the Spaniards under Valdivia. Fighting in the open, they proved themselves far superior to the Dons as warriors, even though

they had only their native weapons with which to oppose the Spaniards' firearms, steel mail, pikes, swords, and lances.

In the West Indies, the naked Caribs, numerically few on any one island, successfully opposed the Spanish, Dutch, French, and British for centuries. Repeatedly they captured strongly garrisoned forts. Over and over again the Europeans gave up and left the valiant Caribs in undisputed possession of their islands, and eventually they were subdued only by treachery and wholesale massacres. Even then many of the Caribs remained unconquered, and rather than submit to the Europeans threw themselves by hundreds over the cliffs into the sea, while on a few islands the whites were at last obliged to make treaties of peace—which remarkably enough they have adhered to—under the terms of which the surviving Caribs were to remain forever independent and in sole possession of their lands.

In South America vast numbers of Indian tribes have never been conquered or subdued and still remain as free and aloof as before the landing of Columbus, and the Yaquis of Mexico and the Seris of Lower California have never yet admitted their defeat.

With time, both whites and Indians have learned the futility and the inhumanity of fighting, and, with a few exceptions, Indian wars are things of the past. In Mexico expeditionary forces are attempting to subdue and exterminate the remaining independent Yaquis; now and then some of the wilder and more savage tribes of South America have skirmishes with

white or colored men entering their territory, and incipient Indian revolts may occur here and there occasionally when abuses of the Indians become unbearable. But on the whole, and with very few exceptions, the Indians and the whites have buried the hatchet and are living side by side on amicable terms.

When the World War broke out and America issued her call to arms, hundreds of Indians answered the summons. From scores of tribes they came—Sioux and Blackfeet, Delawares and Iroquois, Apaches and Mohaves, Cherokees and Seminoles, age-old enemies and traditional friends, sons of tribes which had fought tooth and nail against the blue-clad troopers of frontier days, descendants of famed warriors who had helped the pioneers to victory in many a bloody war. Forgetting all enmities, forgetting tribal feuds and ancient wrongs, they joined hands under the Stars and Stripes and fought as valiantly for their adopted country in the trenches and on the battlefields of France as had their ancestors on the plains and in the forests of their native land.

We think of Custer and his men as heroes and we give them the honor that is due them as brave and valiant men who died fighting for their country and their flag. But we should not forget that the men against whom they fought were defending their homes, their lands, their women and children, and their very existence. Can we, as a nation whose ancestors laid down their lives in defense of their liberty and their homes, as a nation who reverence those

patriots as heroes, can we, I say, afford to overlook the fact that the Indians were doing the same?

Why should we not be fair and give the Indian his due, now that both white and red are at peace and our country's Indian sons have fought so gallantly for our flag? Why not respect the Indian for his gallant but ever-losing struggle, pitting his primitive weapons against the powder and ball of trained soldiery? Why not regard as heroic the Indians who fell fighting a hopeless fight for all they held sacred and dear?

And why not give to the fallen chiefs the same honors that the grim old Indian warriors gave the gallant cavalrymen, when, at the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of the Little Bighorn, the victorious Indians, wrinkled, seamed with age, but clad in full regalia, paid their tribute to Custer and his men, and placed wreaths and offerings upon the spot where their one-time enemies met their fate on that memorable day?

(2)

THE END

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